

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

MARCH, 1910

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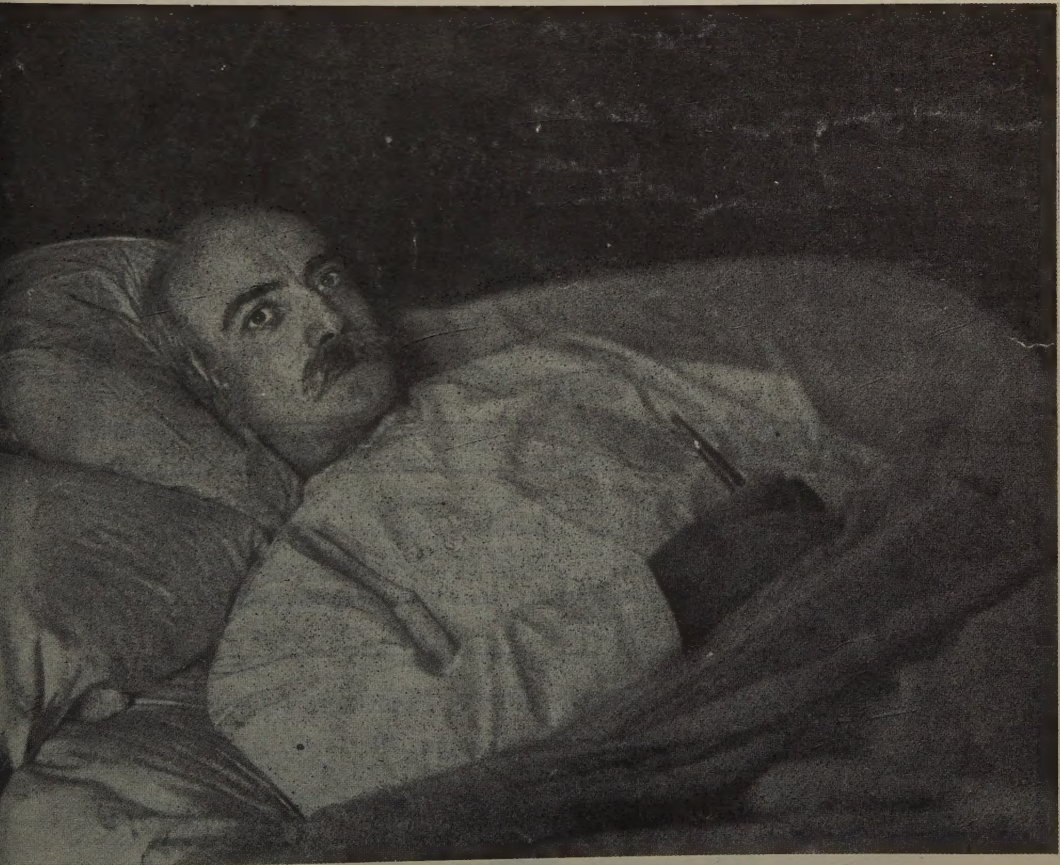


Photo by Allen Drew Cook, Philadelphia.

FRED LONG, VETERAN SOCIALIST AGITATOR

The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR.

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THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

Vol X.

MARCH, 1910

No. 9

The Cause of Rising Prices.

By MARY E. MARCY.

"A general rise in the prices of commodities can result only, either from a rise in their values—the value of money remaining constant—or from a fall in the value of money, the values of commodities remaining constant."—Karl Marx in *Das Kapital*, Vol. 1, page 111.



ANY are the people to-day who claim that monopolies are the cause of the present high prices of commodities. They insist that the legal—or "illegal"—combinations of capital are solely responsible for the continually rising prices of the necessities of life.

As a matter of fact, we are compelled to grant that commodities produced in certain monopolized fields of industry are doubtless selling above their values and that these monopolies have contributed in some measure to the increased cost of living. But, very often, monopoly-produced commodities sell at a lower money price than these products brought before the trustification of that particular field of industry. With the elimination of waste and the introduction of more modern machinery, the trusts can market their products at lower prices than prevailed under competitive methods and still make enormous profits.

Just now the popular indignation against increasing prices is being directed against the beef trust. But the beef trust, in turn, points to the farmers and cattle raisers to whom it has actually paid much higher prices than in the years preceding 1909 and 1910.

The following table from Bradstreet's, January 29, 1910, shows the increase in prices paid to the farmers and stock raisers—1910 over 1909.

Price per Head on the Farm.	Jan. 1, 1910.	Jan. 1, 1909.	Increase—%.
Beef-cattle	\$19.41	\$17.49	11.0
Hogs	9.14	6.55	40.0
Sheep	4.08	3.43	19.0
Live Animals Brought in Chicago.	Jan. 1, 1910.	Jan. 1, 1909.	Increase—%.
Beeves, per 100 lbs....	\$ 8.00	\$ 7.50	6.6
Sheep, per 100 lbs.	6.00	5.40	11.1
Hogs, per 100 lbs.	8.60	6.25	37.6

Certainly nobody accuses the farmers of organizing a trust for the purpose of raising the prices of farm products. The isolated farmers have found themselves able to dispose of their products for the past few years at continually rising prices through no efforts of their own whatsoever.

Small producers in England, Germany, France, Japan and even in India are being borne upward in this wave of rising prices which they can neither understand nor explain. The past few years have been a period of growing prosperity to the isolated producers and the coming decade promises to be a time of unprecedented prosperity to the American farmer. Year by year he has received higher prices for his products and, we believe, that for the next few years, at least, he will continue to do so.

Already farmers are paying off their mortgages with astounding rapidity, building new homes, or moving into the cities. And the sound of the farmer's automobile is these days heard the length and breadth of the land upon the country roads.

The farmers are receiving higher prices; the wholesaler is getting higher prices; the retailer is compelled to ask higher prices; the trusts are getting still higher prices. The market prices on nearly all commodities are from 25 per cent. to 100 per cent. higher than they were ten years ago.

In a very recent article, Dr. Irving Fisher, of the Department of political economy of Yale University says:

"From no point of view can the conclusion be justified that the main cause of the present rise in cost of living is due to labor unions. This rise in cost is world-wide * * *. Moreover, so far as American statistics show, such as those of Bradstreet and the Department of Commerce and Labor, wages have risen only about half as fast as the cost of living."

THE CAUSE.

The student of economics will take out his copy of Volume I of *Das Kapital* and renew his enthusiasm for the work of Karl Marx. Gradually, in the light of passing events, the world's great financiers are beginning to realize the laws of value. Gradually, in the light of Marxian economics, the university professors are beginning to "grow warm" in their search for a scientific explanation of the present phenomenon of world-wide rising prices.

A little volume—the Increasing Gold Supply—compiled by Thomas Gibson from his Special Market Letters—1908—sheds a flood of light on this subject. From it we learn that the world's great financiers come very near to a thorough understanding of the cause of high prices. Gradually the Marxian theory of value is being borne out and illustrated by passing events. And in the light of recent financial developments, it behooves the capitalists themselves to turn their attention toward that great work, *Das Kapital*, by which alone they will be able to explain the present high price phenomenon of the industrial and financial world.

Eminent economists and world-famed financiers have reached the almost unanimous conclusion that the increasing high prices are due to the increasing gold supply.

Mr. Byron W. Holt, in a specially prepared article for Thomas Gibson's Market Letter Service, comes very close to a solution of the problem: He asks:

"Assuming that gold will continue to depreciate in value (that is, that prices will rise) what will be the effect upon interest rates, bond value, earnings, stock prices, etc., etc?"

Although he fails to understand the Marxian theory of value, assuming that the increase in the supply (quantity) of gold has caused its depreciation, he adds on page 9:

"We believe, however, that the best thought of the best economists is reaching the conclusion that the cost of producing gold determines, or tends to determine, the exchange value of gold with other commodities, just as the cost of producing other commodities determines their exchange value with each. This being true, it naturally follows that when the cost of producing gold, measured by other commodities, is low, both the production of gold and the supply of gold will increase. As the **quantity** increases the quantities of other products for which it exchanges will gradually decrease. That is, the prices of commodities will rise."

"Since 1896 the world's visible supply of gold has increased from \$4,359,600,000 to about \$7,250,000,000 in 1908, or 66 per cent. From

1896 to March, 1907, average prices rose about 60 per cent. in this country, and 40 per cent. in England."

Mr. Holt assumes that monopolies are largely responsible for the greater advance in prices in this country over the advance in England. He continues:

"It is probable that, during the next two years, prices will advance much faster than the gold supply will increase. Possibly, and even probably, the rise in prices, during the next five years, will fully keep pace with the rise in the quantity of gold. If then, as now seems probable, the world's visible supply of gold increases 25 per cent. by 1913, it is more than likely that the price level will then be fully 25 per cent. higher than it now is. **By 1918 we may confidently expect to see prices 50 per cent. higher than they now are.**"

CAUSE OF DEPRECIATION IN THE VALUE OF GOLD.

Many of us have been accustomed to regard gold as a commodity of fixed value. But its value rises or falls in proportion to the human labor-power necessary to produce it.

Improved machinery reduces the value of commodities produced by the modern methods. The labor-power embodied in these commodities grows less and less. Toward the beginning of the introduction of machinery, five men, perhaps, do the work of ten men. By and by, with the introduction of still better machinery, one man may replace the five.

Modern methods of production are being continually improved and the value of commodities produced under the newest and most improved methods have fallen in value, just as, since the production of gold has become increasingly improved and cheapened, gold, as a commodity, has decreased in value.

The following is a quotation from one of the Thomas Gibson Market letters, by Mr. Selwyn-Brown, a gold mining expert:

"As the rich surface deposits are being worked out, improvements in mining and metallurgical processes are enabling poorer and poorer deposits to be worked, that is, improvements in 'stamp mills,' cyanide mills, dredging machines and other gold-extracting apparatus and processes are being made so rapidly that it is, every year, becoming profitable to work lower and lower grades of ore, sand and earth.

As the grade declines the quantity in sight increases rapidly. In fact there are almost literally mountains of low grade gold ore that may even now be worked profitably. Some of the largest, most productive and most profitable mines of to-day contain ore averaging **less than \$3.00** and, in some instances, only **\$2.00 of gold per ton.**

The supply of such ore being inexhaustible the output de-

depends upon the number and size of the mills employed to extract the gold. It is reasonably certain that, for years to come, the improvements in methods and processes of mining will more than keep pace with both the decline in the quality of the ore and the increase in the cost of mining due to raising prices and wages, occasioned by the depreciation of gold.

In view of all the facts, Mr. Selwyn-Brown's conclusion that 'a progressive increase each year may confidently be expected' is conservative. This conclusion is almost a certainty. The uncertainty lies in the possibility, if not probability, either of discovering many important new mines in the practically unexplored parts of every continent, or of making improvements that will radically reduce the cost of extracting gold. In either case the increase in the out-put of gold might not be simply arithmetically but geometrically progressive.

The Thomas Gibson Market Letters, from which we have quoted at length, are especially prepared for the financial kings of Wall street. Prominent economists, gold mining experts and wizards of finance have contributed each his portion to the solution of the problems attendant upon "the increasing gold supply." If they had read *Das Kapital* they would have discussed "Results of the Depreciation in Gold."

But so far as they have seen, the contributors have let their lights shine freely and frankly for the benefits of the capitalist class. Although they fail to satisfactorily explain the high-price phenomenon, the following quotation from the last page of "The Increasing Gold Supply" will convince almost anyone that the Big Investors are sufficiently informed upon the subject to make use of the decreasing value of gold "in a way to add to their property holdings."

" * * * a prolonged period of rapidly rising prices is reasonably certain to become a period of unrest, discontent, agitation, strikes, riots, rebellions and wars.

A rapidly depreciating standard of value then, if long continued, not only produces most important results in the financial, industrial and commercial world, but is likely to result in changes of great consequence in the political, social and religious world.

In view of all the facts, results and possible consequences connected with the increasing output and supply of gold, the Wall Street Journal was right when, on December 4, 1906, it said that 'no other economic force is at present in operation in the world of more stupendous power than that of gold production.'"

WHAT THE WAGE WORKERS MUST DO.

In all the Wall street journals and periodicals of high finance we find a wholesale recognition by the capitalist class of the fact that the decrease in the value of gold (and consequent high prices) means that

the value of money in America is only about two-thirds what it was ten years ago. Wage workers who earned \$20.00 a week ten years ago find that \$20.00 buys only about two-thirds the commodities to-day that it bought then. The money in which we are paid has dropped in value. It buys only two-thirds as much to-day as it bought ten years ago.

The world-wide agitation for co-operatives is a result of the situation. But co-operatives will not be able to meet the requirements. As gold continues to decrease in value prices will continue to rise. The co-operatives will have to pay these ever-increasing prices for commodities. At best they can only help a very few of us for a very short time.

We are not receiving the value of our labor-power. We need higher wages to-day and we shall need another increase every year so long as the value of gold (or wages) is decreasing, and the capitalist system of society endures.

We can only enforce our demand for higher wages when we have the backing of a strong economic organization. We must have that organization.

We shall not boycott the meat trust. We shall demand higher wages to meet the increasing prices. We shall demand the value of our labor-power. There is strength in union. We must organize. We must show these Wall street manipulators that we understand economics as well—or better—than they do. **We must have higher wages.**

We must strengthen the Socialist party and join an industrial union wherever it is possible. We must aid, with all the strength we possess, every organization of workingmen and women who strike for higher wages.

The situation will grow more acute every month. We will not follow the advice of the capitalist papers and live on a diet of beans and rice. We will not lower our standard of living.

If we are not to be ground down to the point of bare subsistence our "immediate demand" must be **higher wages.**

"The value of commodities remaining constant, their prices vary with the value of gold (the material of money), rising in proportion as it falls, and falling in proportion as it rises."—Karl Marx, Vol. I of Capital, page 132.



Ben Hanford and Fred Long.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.



HERE is no page in the history of the human family more ennobling than that which tells of the companionships that men and women of congenial temperaments and common ideals have formed and by virtue of which they realized the best that was in them. We think of the names of Beaumont and Fletcher, who contributed their fair share to the Elizabethan drama; we are reminded of the literary kinships of Byron, Shelley and Keats, of Emerson and Thoreau, among many others; we are pleased to contemplate the experiments of the Curies with radium and the contribution of the Wrights to the science of aerial navigation. Nor has the Socialist movement been wanting in these most intimate of friendships. The names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are inseparably linked together.

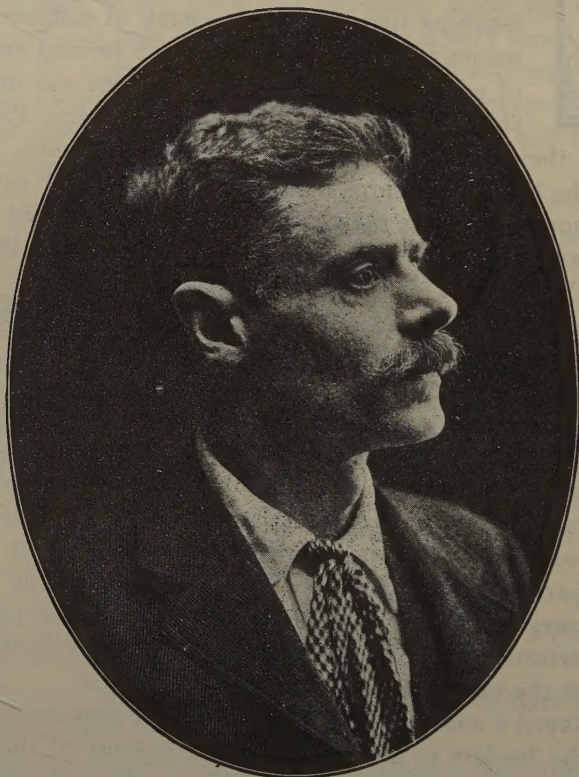
In the same strain, nor yet in a minor key, need we record the story of those twin spirits of American Socialism, splendid types of the intellectual workingman, Fred Long and Ben Hanford.

Printers both, self-taught and self-made, Fred the senior by a year—Ben turned the half century mark before he died—they first met in the days of tramp printing, in the '80's, in Chicago, and were thereafter the firmest of friends. Not only were their ideas mutual; even their mannerisms were alike, and nature must have beamed the day each marked the other for his own.

Fred played a conspicuous part in the labor movement in Chicago, as one of the leaders in the eight-hour movement of the Knights of Labor. In the late '80's he came to Philadelphia, where he has ever since resided. He no sooner arrived than he took the ferry to Camden and exchanged greetings with Walt Whitman. There is mention of the meeting of the "good gray poet" and the blue-eyed young revolutionist in Traubel's book "With Walt Whitman in Camden." When, some time later, Fred and his wife adopted a roistering youngster, full of the joy of living, Fred renamed him Walt Whitman Long. By and by Ben set eyes upon the youngster and, after a cursory inspection, Ben surnamed Walt "the committee on cinnamon buns."

Ben came up from Washington to Philadelphia in the first half of the '90's. Ben was then a single taxer. He told Fred about it. Fred

was a confirmed Socialist. Nevertheless he expressed his willingness to have Ben proselyte him. They took long walks together, for hours at a time, into the wee hours of the morning, to debate the question. In these walks were first manifested the symptoms of locomotor ataxia



BEN HANFORD

DIED AT BROOKLYN, N. Y., JANUARY 17, 1910

which finally struck Ben down. However much they walked Fred grew no nearer to single tax. Instead, Ben became a Socialist.

Ben's conversion to Socialism, by the way, is a theme of some little dispute. Seven cities claimed to have been the birthplace of the blind wanderer, Homer. And seven Socialists—and many more—are

convinced that they alone won Ben to the cause. There is some ground for the belief that Ben was greatly influenced by Ernest Kreft, also a printer, who died from overwork while leading the union's eight-hour strike in Philadelphia. Kreft was one of the most gifted organizers of working people the East has produced. He had fought his way to success in the international organization against strong odds, and will be recalled as the Socialist candidate against Gompers a few years ago for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. But while Kreft was well worthy of having been Ben's foster father, Ben gave all the credit to Fred Long.

At two other critical periods in his career Ben Hanford accepted the guiding hand of Fred Long. When the split came within the old Socialist Labor party, Fred was among those who promptly abandoned the DeLeon faction. In fact he rendered yeoman service in the struggle, and was chairman of a session of the Rochester convention. Ben was undecided where to take his stand. Fred made it very plain to him that their being in two different camps would in no wise impair their friendship. It did not. Within the year Ben left DeLeon.

Again, in the campaign of 1908, Ben consulted Fred in a matter that perplexed him. Ben was south, writing to Fred that he had completely recovered his health and looking forward to again being of service in the cause to which both had dedicated their lives. The national convention was approaching. "Who do you think ought to be our standard bearers?" asked Ben. "Give us back our old commanders," quoted Fred, "make it Debs and Hanford." The support of his old teacher had much to do with turning Ben to accept the nomination.

The last time the two met was shortly before Ben went south in 1907. Fred had gone through one experience in a hospital—all told he has been through three—and was receiving private treatment at home. Ben came over from New York. He, too, had had his first experience in a hospital; his stomach was in a very bad way. He spent a few hours with Fred—it was old times again, of which Ben used to say that an evening with Fred was the inspiration of half a dozen good speeches for him. When Ben left, he remarked to the comrade who accompanied him: "Good God, what has Fred ever done to be punished like that?" A week later Ben was in a Pittsburg hospital.

Like Ben, Fred has suffered torments of pain that pitched and tossed the atom of vitality in him until death itself would have been welcomed as a ministering angel—suffered for five long years with scarcely a respite, bearing up under it by superhuman will, by his

serenity, by his rare wit which never failed him, and, above all, by that which he spoke of as having kept ablaze the soul in Ben's racked body, "the bread that others know not of,"—the precious faith in his fellow men.

Fred still remains with us. He is broken in body, his magnificent, powerful voice may no longer resound through our council chambers. Those who would commune with him must gather at his bed side, as the youth of ancient days gathered about the feet of Socrates and Jesus. The warrior in him has been tempered by the philosopher. No one can read Bobby Burns and Mr. Dooley with such relish as he can. He is keenly sensitive to all that is going on in contemporary thought. He understands the labor and Socialist movements in their many ramifications. His unusually well-stored mind is fertile with suggestions for cartoons, editorials and tactical measures. He has the same glowing optimism he had when as a stripling, thirty-four years ago, he joined the labor movement. He has struck many a spark from the anvil of truth and carried on high the torch of knowledge, of solidarity, of revolution. He has translated the language of Socialist theory into the American vernacular; he has fashioned the profoundest of Socialist principles into terms of American usage, in spirit with the psychology of the American people. His years have been well spent. He smiles upon death.

Ben Hanford and Fred Long! The labor movement is richer, the working class will be happier, for their having lived. The memory of them will be blessed wherever men and women are regaled by the wine of liberty.

How well for them both could have been written the words that Robert Louis Stevenson wrote for his own epitaph—Robert Louis Stevenson who, too, knew what it is to suffer and die in the morning of life:

"Under the wide and starry sky
Dig the grave and let me lie.
Glad did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me;
Here he lies where he longed to be;
Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
And the hunter home from the hill."

Philadelphia, Pa.

Mining Graphite in India.

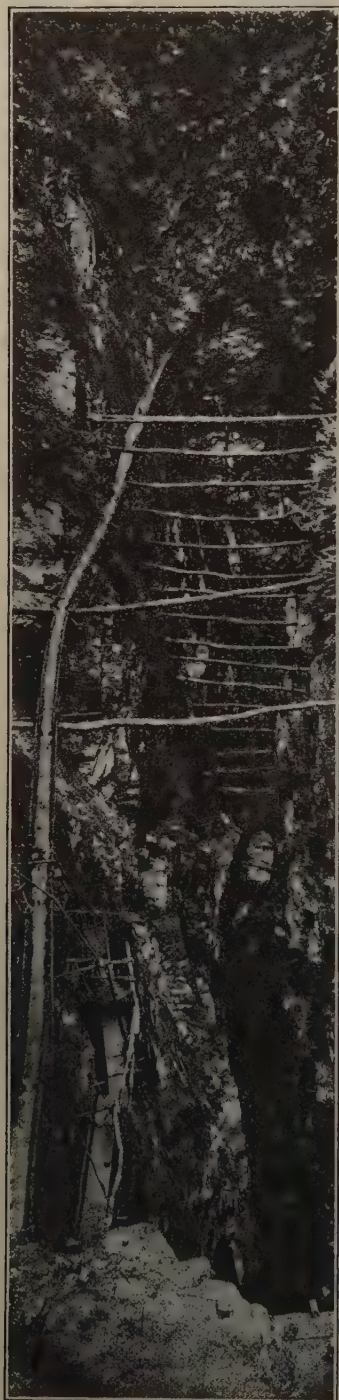
By W. O. WING.



THE Socialists and the big capitalists have one enthusiasm in common. They both delight in beholding the progress of modern industry in the Far East, the capitalist because he believes this means added profits and the Socialist because he knows modern industry will produce more proletarians, with the desires and aims and needs of other wage-workers all over the world.

Just now India is engaged in a vast undertaking. Encouraged by the successful completion of a railroad connecting Key West with Florida, she plans to span the eighty miles of ocean separating Southern India from the Island of Ceylon by concrete viaducts and a steel bridge. Across this bridge a railroad will run and another step will have been added to the conquest of the East. A hundred and fifty or sixty years ago, when England first hoisted the British flag over India, India was known all over the world for her wonderful manufactured products. Seventeenth, and the early part of eighteenth, century literature abounds in stories of the wealth of India, and through the early pages of our United States histories we find ships laden with the wealth of old India sailing from harbor to harbor in search of trade with the young nation. In those days India was indeed a power.





But for the past century England has been able to turn back the tide of economic progress in India. She has literally forced India, by a system of prohibitive taxation, to abandon her manufactories and to return to the fields for a living.

Above all else the factories of England needed cheap raw products and England saw to it that India produced them. It looks now as though England might find it cheaper to establish factories in India instead of shipping the raw products back home. Gradually one industry after another is planning overflow plants in India.

Over 30,000 men on the little island of Ceylon are already engaged in graphite mining. The photographs reproduced here (from the *Scientific American*) show the prevailing method of mining there to-day. Thus far graphite, or plumbago, from which lead pencils and crucibles are made, has been the only mineral found there in sufficient quantities to make mining profitable. Within the past decade this trade has undergone considerable expansion, with the result that mining is being extensively developed.

Thus far, however, the mining has remained almost exclusively in the hands of the natives, and primitive methods are still the rule.

In the richer districts more methodical working is introduced, but even here the mining equipment is quaintly antique. The pits resemble deep slits or gashes in the rock. At the top a platform is erected, and ladders, fashioned crudely of length of bamboo secured together with native jungle rope, are flung down the deep shafts for the use of the mine-workers.

The transverse sections, forming the rungs of the ladder, are also made from pieces of bamboo, similarly connected.

In many cases the ladders are flung transversely across the shafts and fastened at the sides. The innumerable barefoot journeys made over the rods have coated them with a fine polish of graphite. They are as slippery as glass. Only a native could cross and recross the deep mining shafts on these slippery rungs and retain his balance. Instead of being hoisted to the platform by rope, the graphite is loaded into long baskets, made by the natives, and is borne on their shoulders up the long ladders to the pit mouth. Always there is a swarm of shining, graphite-besmeared bodies, climbing laboriously upward with their loads. Always there is a steady stream of workers descending.

When the mines are flooded, holes are bored to lower levels, and the water is baled out by the natives.

At Pelawatta, where the most profitable veins have been found, steam pumps and a power hoisting machine have been installed.

* * * * *

A new hope is rising in the hearts of the people of India, a hope born of the young industries and the new factories. In their dreams they see India restored to her old prestige and glory, her proud, wealth-laden ships again on every sea.

We believe there is a greater and better future before her, a day of brotherhood of which she has had no vision; a day when modern industry shall have stamped out caste, when a great exploited people shall become united at last in a mighty effort to wipe out the master class.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of absolute feudalism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. — Communist Manifesto.

The Story of the Homestake Lockout

By W. C. BENFER.



O much that is not true has been written concerning the cause of the idleness of more than two thousand former employes of the great Homestake Mining Company, operating mines and mills at Lead, South Dakota, that a true story of the trouble, written by one who is on the battlefield, may be of interest and benefit to the working class.

The motive for the lockout is variously interpreted, but the most plausible theory is a desire on the part of the management to cut wages or increase hours of labor. Since January 1, 1907, the Homestake Mining Company and the Hearst Mercantile Company (controlled by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst) have been run on an eight-hour day. This concession was granted after the Lead and Central City unions of the Western Federation of Miners decided that the miners of the Black Hills were entitled to the same short workday as prevailed in practically all the metalliferous mining camps of the west and north-west. Previous to this time the miners and other laborers in the company's employ had worked ten to twelve hours seven days per week, at from \$2.50 for common labor, to \$3.50 per day for skilled miners.

When the eight-hour day was broached to Superintendent Grier he declared it was impossible for the company to operate on that basis, as the ore was of so low a grade as to preclude the making of a profit on an eight-hour workday. On December 11, 1906, a committee served on the management a notice saying, in effect, that unless the shorter workday was granted the members of the unions would go on strike. The superintendent capitulated, saying he wanted no trouble with the employes. At this time not more than 60 per cent. of the employes were in the unions.

Last September the Lead and Central City Miners' unions asked the Western Federation to send an organizer into the district to recruit among Homestake employes. William E. Tracy, who had done some work in Michigan for the Federation, was assigned to the task. His efforts met with success from the start and foremen in the mines, mills and other plants took great pains to let it be known to the men that Mr. Grier, the superintendent, had no objection to the employes



COMPRESSED AIR MOTOR CAR HAULING 28 STEEL BOTTOM-DUMPING CARS, CONTAINING 4 TONS OF ORE EACH FROM ELLISON HOIST TO MILLS OF HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY, OVER STEEL BRIDGE, 100 FEET HIGH.

joining the Federation. After this the men poured into the unions in a way to startle the officials and the organizer. Some of the members went so far as to state that the company was packing the unions to control them, and subsequent developments lend color to the suspicion.

On October 24, 1909, it was ascertained that about 98 per cent. of the eligible Homestake employes had joined the unions and the members of the organizations passed a resolution to the effect that after November 25 they would not work with non-union men eligible to belong to the union. The superintendent was asked for a list of employes. This he refused to give, but said he had no objection to the employes organizing; they had the same rights to organize as capital; he would not hinder or assist the unions, but was willing that they should "go ahead with the good work." With this understanding, the resolution against non-union men was published in the local press, more as a means of completing the organization than as a threat against the company. Speakers at the mass meeting passing the resolution had stated that all the good men were in the union, with probably a dozen exceptions, and if these could be brought in by the resolution the work was done.

Eight days before the limit for men to join the unions had expired the superintendent experienced a change of heart, for he caused to be posted about the company property the following notice:

NOTICE.

Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Com-



A PORTION OF LEAD WITH HOMESTAKE

pany will employ only non-union men after January 1st, 1910. The present scale of wages and the eight (8) hour shift will be maintained. All employes who desire to remain in the company's service must register in the general office of the company on or before December 15th, 1909.

T. J. GRIER, Superintendent.

November 17th, 1909.

This gave those who thought more of the company than of themselves and their organization one week to get out of the unions and sign the company's application for non-union employment. So small a percentage responded that on November 24th the following notice was posted about the works and published in the daily press:

LEAD, S. D., November 24th, 1909.

Notice is hereby given that the Homestake Mining Company will cease operating its properties this evening.

T. J. GRIER, Superintendent.

The threat was carried out, and on Thanksgiving Day, 1909, 2,500 men found themselves out of employment and 10,000 men, women and children faced a hard winter with no wages coming in.

The Western Federation at once took up the matter of issuing relief to its members and has been paying out \$6,000.00 per week since the first week in December. This is a heavy drain on the Federation, but it is taking care of its members so that none have suffered.

The two unions most involved—the federation locals—started in with almost 2,400 members and so far but 150 have deserted and signed up the company's pledge, which is as follows:

HOMESTAKE MINING COMPANY:

Lead, S. D., 19...

I am not a member of any labor union and in considera-



MILLS AND TRAMWAY.

Black Hills Illustrated.

tion of my being employed by the Homestake Mining Company agree that I will not become such while in its service.

Department.....

Occupation.....

On December 9 the executive committee elected by the locked-out union men called out all union men still in the company's employ as watchmen or in any other capacity. The majority of these men came out and their places were filled by Pinkerton, Thiele and Boyd detectives, who had been drifting into the district before the lockout became effective. Among these alleged "detectives" were several gun-men who had done bloody service for the mine-owners of Colorado, Idaho and Montana. During the early part of the lockout the company, through its sister—the Hearst Mercantile Company—shipped in several cases of carbines and sawed-off Winchester repeating shot-guns. These were given to the imported guards and gun-men.

On Sunday evening, December 19, these gun-men pulled off their first riot. While a few Russian ex-employees were having a dancing party at the home of one of their number, a party of detectives and company guards broke into the house and began beating the inmates with their revolvers. Four of the men were dragged off to the city jail, hatless and without coats. One man was badly cut on the head. Next day all but one man were released, but this one, Clem Lunas, was arraigned on a charge of having fired a gun in a public place. There was no evidence that he had fired a gun, but he was bound over to the Circuit Court. He has since signed up with the company and his friends expect the case against him to be dropped. Imported men are mingling with citizens, with guns sticking out of their pockets,

but citizens have been fined \$50 and given thirty days in jail for engaging in fist-fights with non-union men.

On January 6th, forty-nine men, expelled by the Lead Miners' union for working after being called out, met and organized what they term a "Loyal Legion," the chief requirement for membership being that they sympathize with the Homestake Company and fight the unions. Two days later, after the Legion had recruited among business men, schoolboys and bums, it held a meeting, asking that the company resume operations with the Legioners as the men behind the drills, shovels and other tools. Mr. Grier promised to take the matter under advisement, and on January 10th the announcement was made that the mines and mills would resume as soon as the machinery could be put in shape. Here the higher-paid alleged union men began to show themselves by trotting to the company office for jobs. This embraced machinists, engineers, blacksmiths and other mechanics. While the desertions in these A. F. of L. craft unions of mechanics did not amount to much, they had a discouraging effect on the members of those unions who favored fighting to the last ditch for the right to organize. The machinists have given up their charter, some of the members having sought work elsewhere and some of them having joined the Loyal Legion. The painters' organization has also been put out of business, mainly because of the lockout. The teamsters, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, suffered some desertions and to save themselves and to strengthen the Miners' organizations have given up their charter and joined the Western Federation locals in this district. The local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America is standing firm with the miners and has suffered comparatively few desertions.

When the reports of a resumption of work came out, some of the machinists went to the Superintendent and asked if their organization (affiliated with the A. F. of L.) would not be exempted from the ban against unionism. To the delight of those union men having the fight in hand the skilled mechanics were told that there would be no discrimination—that all would have to travel the same route. This action started the exodus of machinists from Lead.

The Superintendent of the company on January 10th denied any intention to import men to take the places of the old employes, but it appears that the plans had been laid for the importation of men at that time, for five days later the first installment of strike-breakers arrived. Since then scarcely a day has passed when from four to twenty men were not shipped in, with carfare paid. Misrepresentation is being used to induce these men to come to the Hills. On January

24th Carl Kraus, who had been induced to come to Lead from Victor, Colorado, with the understanding that the trouble had been settled with the unions, refused to go to work when he arrived and was arrested and thrown into jail for having obtained transportation and then declining a job. James Kirwan, a Black Hills member of the W. F. of M. executive board, who now has charge of the situation for his organization, got in communication with a lawyer, with a view of beginning suit against the company on a peonage charge. The man (Kraus) was released and told he could go. To date, the company has imported probably 150 strike-breakers, of whom less than fifty are miners. Some of the importations have deserted their guards after reaching Lead and wandered to the Lead Union headquarters, where they have been set right and, in some instances, helped out of the country.

The company is now making a bluff at running two mills. People who have been inside during the past week report that practically nothing is being accomplished in the way of milling ore.

The efforts to break into the rank and file of the Western Federation, outside the engineers and mechanics, have been a rank failure, as less than 200 have so far deserted that organization. Some 500 or 600 have left for other camps, but that merely relieves the Federation of their support and deprives the company of that many of its former employees. There are not less than 1,600 loyal union men—mostly miners and shovelers—standing out for the right to organize, and these are the men the company needs to make dividends. These men worked hard for low wages and they consider that they have nothing much to lose if they never get back. They will do more in winning recognition of the union than an equal number of mechanics or "aristocrats of labor."

Out of probably 700 union Slavonians, there has not been a single desertion from the union, and the Italians, Finns and Scandinavians are also standing firm, although these latter have suffered a few desertions.

Yanto Terzich, from far-off Fairbanks, Alaska, a member of the Western Federation Executive Board, is on the ground and is doing yeoman's service in talking to his Slavonian brothers in their native tongue. They need little persuading, but he is keeping them posted on the situation. It must be admitted that the back-bone of the locked-out men is the bull-dog determination of the Slavonians and other foreigners, the American-speaking people forming the majority of the deserters. They believe, evidently, that they will all get bosses' jobs.

A BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.

Much has been said and written concerning the benevolence of the Homestake Company, and that "benevolence" has been one of its best-paying assets. With it the company has lulled to sleep the employes until many of their most important rights have been wheedled and stolen from them. Men in the company employ were allowed to build homes on company ground and that has caused some otherwise good men to sign the scab list—the fear of losing several hundred dollars invested in a little home. If they fail to remain loyal to the company they must move their homes off company ground. A number of the business houses are in the same unhappy condition and this accounts, in part, for the stand some of the business men are taking.

By playing the part of Little Father (or Mother) to its employes, the company has always been in a position to get the votes of its serfs without much trouble. This has enabled it to control practically all the city officials and many of the county and state officials and some congressmen and judges.

Mrs. Hearst, mother of William Randolph Hearst, of newspaper fame), "kindly" maintains a free library and free kindergarten in Lead. She also contributes \$200 annually to each of its churches, which may account for the fact that many of the preachers are to-day preaching Homestakeism instead of Christianity. The people of the Black Hills had learned to pray to Homestake stockholders and thank them for blessings received and expected.

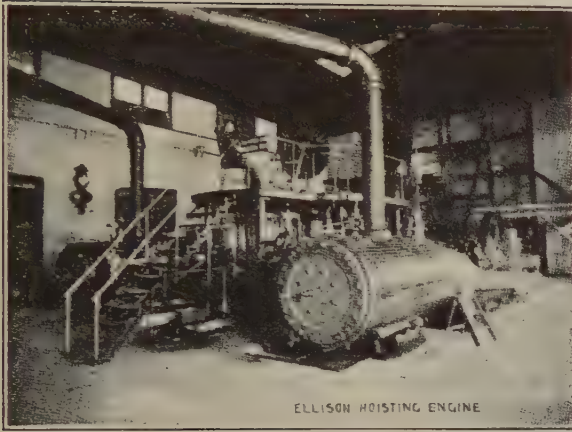
MR. HEARST'S CONNECTION.

Much has been said and written against William Randolph Hearst,



CHRIST CHURCH WITH HEARST FREE KINDERGARTEN.

the "great" newspaper publisher, because he has not used his mighty influence to bring about peace in Lead and justice to the Homestake employes. Mr. Hearst has denied that he owns a single share of stock in the Homestake company. Possibly this is true,



ELLISON HOISTING ENGINE.

but the writer can relate an instance to prove that Mr. Hearst has had much influence with the management at one time, and it is possible that he has not lost the key to the lock that has been turned and bolted against the men who earned the money that started him in the publishing and brain-buy-business. During the

campaign of 1906, when Mr. Hearst was a candidate for Governor of New York, the enterprising New York World sent a bright chap named Fay to write up the "benevolence" of the Homestake Company. Mr. Fay secured a lot of information, and the World was making pretty good use of its stories about Lead and the Homestake Company, when "Willie" be-thought him of the mighty influence he had, through the Homestake Company, in the little town of Lead, South Dakota. Straightway he set the ticker in motion, with the result that the President and Secretary of the Lead Miners' union were summoned to the office of the Homestake Company. What transpired there we know not, but we do know that a special meeting of the Lead union was held late one evening and all the writings of Mr. Fay were characterized as fabrications. Mr. Hearst had a great deal of influence with the Homestake Company then and it is to be regretted that, after the union men of the Black Hills have had unionism preached into them by the Hearst papers for all these years Mr. Hearst should suddenly have lost the power to speak a word to get them out of the fix his teachings have gotten them into. The average Black Hills miner had begun to believe that it was a part of his duty to his employer to believe what he read in the Hearst papers concerning the rights of man. He had begun to think that all the talk in the Hearst papers about "pluck-me" company stores meant what was said, but the Hearst store continued to make big profits off his patronage and, by threats of what it would do to the merchants who started cutting prices, kept their own stores in line for big profits. The Hearst-Homestake defenders tell you that the Homestake Company did not compel its employes to trade at the

company store. True, but it practically fixed the prices charged by other stores. And those prices are very high, compared to the wages paid here.

A "PLUCK-ME" HOSPITAL.

Another of the benevolent institutions of the Homestake Company is a hospital where the maimed employes are treated—at their own expense. Every month \$1.10 is held out of the men's wages for this hospital, regardless of how many days the employe works. Men who have quit in one department during the month and again accepted employment in another department during the same month have been confronted with two or more charges of \$1.10 for hospital fees. It matters not that some of the employes are so prejudiced against the company's doctors (some of whom have just come from college), that they do not use them, the \$1.10 per month must be paid just the same. It is held out of their wages. Have you seen any endorsement of such institutions in any of the Hearst papers?

Will the Homestake Company win its fight? The writer doesn't know. He does know, however, that the men cannot lose, for, as Karl Marx has so truly said, they "have nothing to lose but their chains." In the meantime, it is the duty of every lover of fair play and justice to do what lies in his power to keep workingmen from coming to Lead to help the company or become burdens on the Western Federation.



The United Mine Workers' Convention.

By J. L. ENGDAHL.



ENCOURAGEMENT is a thing born of progress and success. When the working-class, struggling in its shackles and its chains, succeeds in slightly loosening or partially ridding itself of some of them, there is cause for a little rejoicing. But to sacrifice over \$150,000 of its financial resources and gain but little in the way of appreciable results would seem a disheartening proceeding for any labor organization.

Yet that is all that was done by the recent twenty-first annual convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis, Ind. Judge for yourself by the following:

Every effort to give a true working-class expression of alienation from the National Civic Federation was strangled by hypocrisy and maudlin sentimentality.

Almost no attention was given to the repeated mine slaughters in various parts of the country, several of which occurred while the convention was in session.

An attempt to gain the co-operation of the United Mine Workers in carrying on the toiling class struggle for the right of free speech, a free press and the right of free assemblage in Spokane, Wash., was stifled before it had hardly received an opportunity for expression.

In order to give the Western Federation of Miners time to tame itself down to the docility required of a labor body qualified to belong to the American Federation of Labor, the proposed amalgamation of the two miners' organizations was postponed for another year or two.

To complete this panorama of incidents looking backward, the convention remained in session until 3 o'clock on the morning of February 3d, in an effort to complete its business in a hurry, and then scampered pell mell for special trains, traveling part of a night and half a day, to arrive in Toledo, O., weary in mind and body, but on time to obey the beck and call of some few domineering, plutocratic coal operators.

It was with a curiosity born of a desire to know what the other man would think, that led me to ask an official high in the councils

of the United Mine Workers the question: "Why did John Mitchell become an officer of the National Civic Federation?"

"It was soon after Mitchell had ceased to be president of the United Mine Workers that he was offered the position of chairman of the trade agreement department of the Civic Federation. "Being out of a job he accepted," was the somewhat startling reply.

Immediately I recalled what had appeared to me a tragic scene in the murky court room of the Harrison street police station. A neatly dressed young girl, fair to look upon, was ushered up to the bar of justice by a rough-looking police officer. She hardly dared face the questioning judge.

"But why did you do it?" was the abrupt, brutal interrogation, that brought the flood of words and tears in explanation.

"It was the only way, sobbed the victim. "We were married happily and my husband was working regularly in the steel mills of South Chicago. One day a scrap of steel filing got into his eye and they had to take him to the hospital. First one eye was blinded, and then the other, and then—"

"Go on, go on," urged the big policeman. "Go on, and look at the judge while you are talking."

"Soon all our money was gone," continued the prisoner, as the words struggled on. "I tried to get work. I sought for it everywhere. But the most I could get anywhere was \$8 a week. That wasn't enough to support us both and pay the hospital and doctor's bills."

The girl did not deny that she had been trying to sell herself on the streets for the money that was to aid her in caring for her husband. She had permitted the officer to tell all that without protest. She admitted having found the woman's last resort in the struggle for existence.

The institution that broke her down was the United States Steel Corporation, that crushes, maims and kills its employes and cares not for those dependent upon them.

Andrew Carnegie, "capitalist," New York, piles his millions on his millions through the manufacture of steel. Henry Phipps, of New York City, is a director of the United States Steel corporation. As young girls are beaten into the gutters of degradation the dividends of these men rise.

On the books of the National Civic Federation it is written this way: Executive committee, "on the part of the public," Andrew Carnegie; "on the part of the employers," Henry Phipps, and "on the part of the wage earners," John Mitchell, former president of the United Mine Workers of America.

Even the capitalist police court judge had pity for the weeping girl confessing her shame. John Mitchell did not tell the story of this

girl nor of any other girl, but instead he boasted of the kindness and fair dealing of the pirate crew of capitalists in the Civic Federation before the annual convention of the United Mine Workers. There were those among the delegates who cheered. Blinded by the halo that shone out of the past, they seemed to forget that in the present John Mitchell was prostituting his ability more than the girl had ever prostituted her charms. Yet the one was applauded; the other disgraced.

At the present time the president of the United Mine Workers receives an annual salary of \$3,000, and "all legitimate expenses." John Mitchell was president of the United Mine workers for ten years. Probably the best wages a miner can earn are \$3 a day. Nearly always the miner is working only about half of the time. Granting that he works every day in the year, however, excepting Sundays, he earns only a little more than \$900. Yet John Mitchell could take the hard-earned money of the miners that went to make up his salary for ten long years, then desert them and go over to the Civic Federation, there to receive, it is reported, \$6,000 per year.

In the issue of the National Civic Federation Review for November 15, 1909, is produced a photograph showing John Mitchell sitting next to Mrs. J. Borden Harriman on the lawn of the latter's country home at "Uplands," Mount Kisco, N. Y., a privilege accruing to "good" representatives of labor in the Civic Federation.

There were those in the United Miners Convention who denounced the Civic Federation. It might be said, however, that they had various motives. President Thomas L. Lewis denounced the Civic Federation because he hates Mitchell and wants to gain the so-called radical vote. Others condemned it with more sincerity. In resolutions presented William Comack, Local 1565, Prairie Creek, Ark., wanted the miners to "ignore the existence of the Civic Federation"; Frank Gatz, Local Union 2583, believed the Civic Federation was organized "for the purpose of hypnotizing the working people"; while James E. Taylor, Robert Williamson, John Whactor, Frank Hefferly and W. J. Warwick said that "the Civic Federation is a bitter enemy to organized labor."

When it came to acting in the matter, President Lewis in his slippery way smoothed the troubled waters, supported the Civic Federation, and the denunciation, as well as the resolutions, were thrown out the back door in order to give Capitalism a hearty welcome at the front entrance. Charles P. Gildea, one of the prominent Socialists in the convention, supported the resolutions, but in vain. Somewhere there was stagnation and the wave of protest failed to rise.

It was with this company of labor men that the Western Federa-

tion of Miners was asked to join. Not immediately, as the decision put it, but as soon as the western miners can cultivate their minds sufficiently with the theories of reaction to travel unprotestingly in the company of the American Federation of Labor. It is not so much a matter of the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners, as it is the reactionary East against the militant West.

"There is nothing to stop us from joining with the Western Federation of Miners," said W. B. Powell, president of District 18, made up of the United Mine Workers of British Columbia, one of the spots on the continent where the class struggle is a working factor to such an extent that two representatives of the working class are now members of the Provincial Parliament, "We have been ready to unite with the Western Federation of Miners for several years," he continued.

President Charles H. Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, admitted that he had been opposed to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, but confessed he had become opportunistic enough to be ready to join, the more so as he claimed he could detect a change for the better within Gompers' organization.

It will be a fearful struggle of principle that the little handful of Western Federation of Miners, numbering less than one-half the membership of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, will be compelled to carry on if their organization is to merge completely with the United Mine Workers of America that met at Indianapolis, Ind., in 1910, considering that body as representative. If they survive, the credit will be theirs; if they are overcome by numbers and reactionary leadership the fault can hardly be placed to them.

"The biggest surprise to me of the entire convention was the manner in which the Cherry, Ill., disaster was dismissed," said President Powell, of British Columbia, who had come across the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi Valley to attend the convention and to see big things accomplished, in order that he might have something of value to report to the miners back home.

Duncan McDonald, president of the Illinois district, took up five minutes at the close of the morning session, one day during the convention, to mention the Cherry horror in the mine of the St. Paul Coal Company, preparatory to distributing a report on that holocaust. That was all; it was never heard of again. The matter was mentioned incidentally in several resolutions, but these were lost in the committees.

One morning I ran into the representative of the United Press, who seemed very much excited. I finally learned that he expected a tumult and decisive action in the convention because of the murderous slaughter of men in the mines at Primero, Colo. Having carefully studied the convention, I did not think there would be any stirring pro-

test made even in memory of the dead. Delegate Adolph F. Germer, Socialist, was sought out, and asked to write resolutions to be presented to the convention. This was done. The resolutions passed, carrying with them an appropriation of \$1,000. But it took little longer than it does to write these few words about it and the matter seemed then to have been entirely forgotten.

It wouldn't be out of the way to say just a word right here concerning some of the newspaper men who reported the convention. As I have already mentioned, the representative of the United Press was a Socialist, eager to get anything into his daily report that would savor of a united working class struggling for its rights. The Associated Press representative was also a Socialist. Recognizing, he thought, the news value of the big convention, he wrote 600 words for his afternoon report one day and put it on the wires. In a very short time word came back from Chicago to "cut the report to 100 words." That was usually what happened daily; no matter how short the report was, the Chicago office wanted it shorter. Still another Socialist was discovered in the representative of the Hearst News Service. Here the telegraph wires had to burn when Delegate P. J. Gorman, of Ohio, called President Lewis a "liar!"; but hummed not at all when questions of importance came up for discussion.

The lack of attention given the Cherry disaster and the manner in which the Primero, Colo., horror was passed over, was repeated when the reports came of the mine explosion at Drakesboro, Ky. I spoke to George Baker, international executive board member from Kentucky, regarding the matter. He had lost four relatives in the explosion. He had visited and knew the dangerous character of the mine. Yet he faltered in placing the blame, although he admitted that it was the result of open lights coming in contact with dangerous gases. He did not deny that this condition was permitted by the mine owners, who did not take the trouble to have the mine workers instructed in the matter, but allowed them to go to their death without warning.

Thus with the murder of their own fellow workers hardly receiving any attention, it was perhaps unjust to expect that the living should be given more notice, even if they were going to jail in an effort to retain the cherished rights of their class. The United Mine Workers could have redeemed many of their actions by entering heartily into the fight of the Industrial Workers of the World at Spokane, Wash. They discussed the question half-heartedly for a time, after which the entire matter was cleverly engineered into a pigeonhole of the international executive board, synonymous with a motion to indefinite postponement.

In order to give the reader an opportunity to judge for himself of

the dilly-dally methods of the United Mine Workers, the official minutes on this subject are given. They speak for themselves and are as follows:

"Resolution No. 37. The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

"Delegate Magdalene, District 5, moved the adoption of the recommendation of the committee. (Seconded).

"The question was discussed by Delegate Russell, District 10, and Delegate Stubbs.

"Delegate O'Donnell, District 12, moved, as an amendment, that the resolution be referred back to the committee to specify who was to be responsible for the expenses of the volunteers asked for in the resolution. (Seconded.)

"Delegate Mooney, District 25, moved as a substitute that the matter be referred to the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

"A motion was made and seconded that the substitute be laid upon the table. (Lost.)

"Delegate King, District 12, moved that the entire matter be laid upon the table. (Seconded but not carried.)

"Delegate Feehan, District 5, moved as a substitute for the whole that the subject matter be referred to the International Executive Board. (Seconded.)

"The question was discussed by Delegate Daniel, District 10, and Delegate Dougherty, District 9.

"On motion of Delegate Fishwick, District 12, debate was closed.

"The motion to refer to the international executive board was carried."

To use a slang term, the United Mine Workers of America "laid down" when they were asked to do something substantial. The balking point was the following:

"Resolved, That we call for four volunteers from among our ranks to go to Spokane and fight along with those already engaged, and that this organization defend these volunteers to the highest court in the land."

Almost as a sequel to the above I witnessed the sorry sight of over half a thousand delegates come straggling through the rain, in the deep darkness of early morning, to the Indianapolis Union Station. They packed into two "special" trains made up of disreputable coaches and smokers pressed into service for the occasion.

I was waiting for a train to take me back to Chicago. It came through from Cincinnati, and I nearly missed it watching the interesting and pregnant procedure of a Workers' Special Train in the process of being filled.

The coal operators had notified President Lewis that they were getting impatient at Toledo, O. Lewis had passed it on to the con-

vention, and the convention, in its own working-class way, was doing the best it could to heed the call of its masters.

In this manner the toilers' delegates went to meet the bosses. But the employers did not like the manner of their coming. They had brought the Illinois' delegation along. The bosses didn't want to take up any questions with the Illinois miners and so the joint conference was dissolved. The workers had only received a sample of the present-day capitalistic treatment of the miners. It was perhaps a fitting sequel to the United Mine Workers' twenty-first annual convention.

The Reign of Peace.

By Emilie S. Chamberlin.

See ye, beyond the starless night, a dawn,
Clear, radiant and fair, no cloud above,
Shuts from our gaze the glory of the morn,
The day of peace and universal love.

Broken the time-worn fetters of the years,
No more the earth shall moan and reek with blood,
No more shall fall the starving children's tears,
But plenty sweep the earth in one vast flood.

The cry of war, the cannons' bursting shells;
The clang of arms; the rifle ringing clear;
No more shall tell of sorrow or farewells,
The blood-stained flag no more shall drape the bier.

The slavery that dwells on earth has ceased,
And o'er the field the song of reapers fills
The perfumed air, humanity released,
The song that wakes the echoes from the hills.

The rifle, useless, hangs upon the wall,
The sword, red rusted, now is laid to rest,
From out the cannon's mouth the low, sweet call,
A bird is singing there, within her nest.

The prophecy of peace has been fulfilled,
Blood-red, triumphant banners, float above;
O'er all the earth the sound of strife is stilled,
To hail the reign of brotherhood and love.

Wall Street's Unrest.

By JOHN D.



IS a panic coming? The slump last week when United States Steel shares dropped to $77\frac{3}{4}$, a loss in a few weeks of about twenty points, on very heavy transactions, caused this question to be asked of leading bankers. This drop brought about panicky conditions and finally caused the failure of Fisk & Robinson, one of the most prominent bond houses in America. This concern failed for about \$10,000,000, and was the first smash that can be credited to the high cost of living.

The manager of the house stated that "the average investor will not accept mortgages yielding five per cent. of railroad and industrial corporations, but must have seven per cent., since it is not enough return for him in these days of high commodity prices, etc."

This is a very serious condition for the middle-class investor and brings him closer to the brink of disaster, since a mortgage in excess of five per cent. does not in nine out of ten cases insure any guarantee of safety, and since that is the most essential factor in investing funds it can be seen just how dangerous things are at present in Wall street for the middle-class.

The recent drive at securities also developed this fact that J. P. Morgan and his allies do not want any anti-trust legislation at Washington and took this method of putting an object lesson before Congress and the administration, a trick very often worked of late years. The pressure brought to bear on Taft, by Western Congressmen, and the fears of a Democratic victory next fall, are shadows that mean much to our captains of industry and they are running to cover in their stock market operations.

But after all is said and done, when the capitalists put up steel to the neighborhood of par (\$1.00), they then began to unload and the recent liquidation gives them the opportunity of purchasing the shares from frightened middle-class holders at their own figures. Every shareholder in the big corporations to-day has absolutely no chance as against the men at the head of these gigantic machines, since they can and do manipulate securities to the undoing of all of the little fellows.

Some wag in Wall street has said that so low had the big captains

of industry sunk in their mad rush to corral every dollar in the land that "they would steal a mouse from a blind kitten" and do it without remorse.

As an evidence of the unrest prevailing in the Wall street district at present James M. Beck, one of the counsel for J. P. Morgan, said in a recent speech before the Pennsylvania Bankers that if the anti-trust law was enforced it would bring in its wake the most terrible panic that this country has ever seen, one that would make the 1907 panic seem like a cooing dove. This was taken to mean that Morgan will not stand for any trifling with the corporations of the country, and since Taft is being deluged with "down with the meat trust" letters and the recent big Democratic victory in Missouri, even after Governor Hadley and Secretary Nagel had stumped the district for the Republican candidate is of much import to "Injunction Bill" and his cabinet, i. e.—the future for the G. O. P. Besides that every editor in the land and every owner of a magazine is being snowed under by letters written by educated men and women demanding either Bread or Blood. That is the situation as Wall street sees it and I must confess that the paper I know all about in New York City is shaping its columns to-day as it never did before to catch and hold the people in check.

The West, Wall street understands, is a seething cauldron of discontent, and they are accusing Wall street of every crime on earth.

At the Chamber of Commerce dinner the other day I talked with some of the leading financiers of the country and while none of them would stand for quotation all agreed that we are in for it unless our industrial kings are halted in their mad rush to gobble everything. Of course this makes a Socialist grin, but it is given as an indication of just how they feel down-town at this writing.

Henry Clews talked before the Finance Forum a few days ago on "Half a Century in Wall Street," and it was not intended he should predict anything or say anything worth while. It was intended to be nothing but a homely talk of men, incidents, etc., that he has met in the half century that he has been down in Wall street, but at the close of his remarks Mr. Clews said:

"I am quite of the opinion that the time has arrived for calamity-howling to cease; that there is now no occasion for undue anxiety. Business men have now no reason to feel otherwise than confident.

Now is the time for the timid to develop bravery, for the strong to aid the weak, for the ignorant to be willing to learn from the wise. Let us all work together for the common good,

and the upward tide will bear us along towards better times and lasting prosperity.

Panics come in cycles. It will be years, probably many years, before another one can strike us. Let the worker give his best services to his employer. Let the employer grant justice and fair pay to the worker and to all, and the nightmares and storms of the past will be forgotten, or remembered only as a lesson taught by experience, which will serve to admonish us not to overdo in the future, but to temper enterprise with conservatism."

Then Prof. Carver predicts a panic in 1912. Prof. Phelps says it is here now. Everybody whose opinion is worth considering views with grave alarm the meat agitation and the clearest headed think it is the first cloud of an approaching economic upheaval in these United States of America.

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsaleable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed, the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again.—Fredrick Engels in *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*.

The National Civic Federation.

BY A. LEDOTS.

"It is a matter of common observation that such a rapid industrial recovery from a great panic has never been witnessed before in the United States. It is also true that after no other panic have employers so uniformly maintained the rates of wages prevailing before the panic. Many have criticised this policy as contrary to sound political economy. The question may well be asked, however, whether the rapid recovery from the industrial depression is not partly due to this change of attitude towards labor. The country has been entirely free from labor troubles incident to an attempt to reduce wages. More men may have been thrown out of employment than had a different policy been pursued, but the purchasing power of the vast body of men that remained in employment was not cut down. I do not know whether this maintenance of wages is related to the rapid industrial improvement, as cause and effect, or whether they coincide only accidentally. One thing, however, is certain, that both capital and labor have been spared the costly losses that result from the prolonged struggles incident to a reduction in wages; and they are now being spared again the losses incident to the prolonged struggle to regain the old standards of wages that usually follows the return of prosperity."



THE paragraph preceding contains the opening remarks of President Low of the National Civic Federation at the recent convention of that body, held in the Hotel Astor, New York City, November 22d and 23d. One can see from the general tenor of those remarks (further taking into consideration the fact that they were made within the hearing of several of the leading officials of the A. F. of L.) that the capitalistic element of the National Civic Federation realize that they have nothing to fear from the labor chiefs. A single glance over the industrial field is sufficient to refute all of the statements contained within that paragraph.

It was a well-known fact to almost everybody present that Mr. Gompers had an invitation in his pocket to address a meeting of the Ladies' Shirt-Waist Makers in Cooper Union that very evening. Also, there was to be a conference the following month in Pittsburg, Pa., between the labor chiefs to decide upon a plan of campaign against the United States Steel Corporation. Yet, with all the evidence of the falsity of the statements of Mr. Low, not one of the accredited chiefs of the labor unions had the temerity to deny them.

The Civic Federation exists for a purpose, and as an evidence of the fruitfulness of its purpose witness the consummate ease with which the labor leaders swallow the rhetorical lies of their capitalistic masters. This control over the leading representatives of labor came as the result of diplomacy and—jobs—and the big capitalists have found that the Civic Federation is a good organization for them to support and maintain.

A brief sketch of its history, covering the main points, will show fairly conclusively how the labor bodies come beneath its baneful influence; how labor is throttled and controlled, and, ultimately, made to serve the capitalists alone.

About ten years ago Ralph M. Easley, a Chicago newspaper man (then out of a job), came into the private office of the late Marcus A. Hanna, in Cleveland, Ohio, and to him unfolded a plan whereby the labor organizations of the country could be controlled and made to serve a useful purpose to the big capitalists. He pointed out that the huge vanity of the labor leaders was one weak point to work upon and that, coupled with the opinions that they sometimes voiced regarding the identity of interests between the employer and his employes, could be turned to great advantage, if proper means were utilized.

The plan he had in view was to form a large organization that would be composed of three sections, each of which would be equally represented upon the executive board, and these three sections were to be employers, employes and the general public. In view of the fact that anything smacking of the flavor of democracy would find favor in the eyes of the average labor-leader, who is generally open-eyed only to his personal interests (and blind to the interests of his followers when it is conducive to his material welfare to be so), there was but little reason to fear that this general public section would be looked upon suspiciously, in spite of the notorious fact that this general public section was and is composed of some of the bitterest opponents of organized labor.

Mr. Hanna thought so highly of the plan that he at once provided the wherewithal for Mr. Easley to get to work and form the organization. Shortly after, Mr. Hanna had the supreme satisfaction of presiding at the conference, brought together by his man Easley, that comprised several of the best-known and most conservative labor-leaders of the country, if not of the world.

The plan worked harmoniously from the very start. Mr. Hanna gracefully bestowed upon his capitalist associates the soubriquet of "Captains of Industry," and the labor lieutenants were termed "Our Trusted Lieutenants of Industry," and the National Civic Federation

was launched amid a profuse display of oratorical fireworks and wound up with a bounteous banquet where Labor and Capital rubbed elbows at the festive board and the "General Public" looked on benignly.

One might reasonably ask, why was Mr. Hanna so solicitous for the formation of such a body? The answer comes, that he was interested by virtue of the fact that he was a large owner of coal and iron mines, ships, steam and street railways, and as such was always more or less at war with various labor bodies, and to control them through their leaders was a less expensive method than fighting them, therefore Mr. Hanna was out for their control.

It was understood that the National Civic Federation was to be a great Board of Arbitration, through whose influence labor disputes could be adjusted without the long and tedious (not to mention extremely expensive) methods of the strike, as heretofore. This was certainly a laudable purpose, and one might well say a purpose deserving of a better aim. So strongly did this arbitration idea gain a hold upon the labor-leaders that before long they were devoting more energy towards building up the various branch bodies throughout the country of the Civic Federation than they were expending on their labor organizations. As a result there is scarcely a city of any importance throughout the length and breadth of the country but has its branch. The roster of these state and local branches contain the names of nearly every well-known labor-man, and apparently each is striving harder than his fellows to push the good work along.

One of the baits that catch these leaders coming and going is a notice in the columns of the local papers where they are influential, or a leader's photograph and some favorable comment in the official organ, the Civic Federation Monthly Review.

The first issue of this paper came out in April, 1903, and in it is the picture of the Board of Arbitration that settled the Teamsters' Strike, shortly prior to that time in Chicago. Special mention is made of President Young of the Teamsters, and a long article goes to show what an extremely level-headed and useful fellow is he. They quote him at some length from a speech the worthy fellow delivered, and this shows the kind of men they are enamored with. It reads: "President Young declared—We will show no mercy to any teamster, or local, that dares to go out on a sympathetic strike that we have not endorsed—."

In the June number is a photograph of the Mosely Industrial Investigation commission, a body composed of several trade-union officials of Great Britain, sent over here by Mr. Alfred Mosely to investigate industrial conditions in America. They were taken under

the protecting wing of the Civic Federation and conducted about the country—feted and banqueted as never before in their whole conservative lives. Therefore, it is small wonder that upon their leaving these hospitable shores they presented commendatory resolutions to the National Civic Federation and expressed the hope that the welfare of British workmen be looked after by a similar body. In their report, presented in England, they expressed themselves similarly (June, 1903, *N. C. F. Review*).

The Convention of the Street Railway Employees held at Pittsburgh, Pa., May 4, 1903, passed a set of resolutions endorsing the National Civic Federation, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers passed similar resolutions also (June, 1903, *N. C. F. Review*).

The year 1904 gave evidence of being a stormy year and the Civic Federation got on the job at once. The Mine Workers were restless under a threatened cut. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers were balking at a 20 per cent. reduction. The Longshoremen, too, were kicking and the Subway men in New York also had a grievance that they wished to have adjusted. Apparently, the Civic Federation was going to have its hands full. To cap it all, the guardian angel of the Federation, Mark Hanna, died.

However, everything was settled satisfactorily (?). The employees accepted the reductions of wages. The lake strikers were defeated through the kindly assistance of the mine-workers, under President Dolan, "who absolutely refused to let the mine-workers go out on strike in sympathy with them" (page 9, July, 1904, *N. C. F. Review*), and the officials of the Railway Brotherhoods helped Mr. Belmont to go on his vacation, which he told them he had to defer, by preventing the motormen from striking. So what had promised to be a turbulent year in the industrial field was averted through the beneficent influences of the Civic Federation and the labor officials.

During the winter of 1904-5 the annual convention of the Federation was held, and Mr. August Belmont, employer and capitalist, was elected President. The *N. C. F. Review* (January, 1905, page 1) says of this convention: "Both the presiding officer, Mr. Samuel Gompers, the head of the largest labor organization in the world, and August Belmont, capitalist and employer, whose election to succeed the late Marcus A. Hanna as President of the National Civic Federation—and who was warmly supported by the labor element—pointed out that in no other country on the face of the earth could such a gathering be brought together."

The month of February, 1905, saw the memorable subway and

elevated strike on the Interborough system. Its murmurings were no doubt heard in the banquet-room above the din of the speeches and the rhetorical nothings that the betrayers of labor and myrmidons of capitalism were tendering their new master, Belmont.

Those familiar with the details of the strike are aware that it



AUGUST BELMONT.

was immediately caused by the action of General Manager Hedley. He deliberately violated the ten-hour arrangement agreed upon the September previous between Mr. Belmont for the railroad and Messrs. Wilson, Stone and Mahon, for the motormen. In attempting to force the men to make 160 miles for a day's run, he was compelling them to work, in some cases, over fifteen hours a day. It was against this 160-mile schedule that they were forced to strike—after repeatedly protesting to their national organizations in vain. The national officials of the railway organizations openly did all they could to break the strike for the railroad and afterwards boasted of their work.

On page 8 of the March number of the N. C. F. Review is an article headed "Lessons of the Interborough Strike," and in it appear the following gems: "Labor unions must keep their part of the con-

tracts if they expect success." "No labor union can break its contracts, or aid others to break theirs, and live."

In view of the fact that it was notorious that the Manager of the Interborough deliberately broke the agreement by tacking an extra run onto the schedule, there can be no doubt as to the guilty party to the breaking of the contract.

Subsequent to this strike, Mr. Belmont has frequently been referred to by Gompers, Mitchell, Mahon, Keefe, Garretson, O'Connell and other big guns of the labor movement, as an "ideal trades-unionist." He may be, and probably is, for all we may know.

In the general plan of the Federation, socialism plays no inconsequential part. Nearly every issue contains one or more articles dealing with it. Also there are accounts of the feats-at-arms (or, is it voice?) accomplished by the valiant defenders of capitalism, the labor-leaders, in their laying of the ghost of socialism in their organizations.

The issue of the National Civic Federation Review of June, 1905, contains a huge tirade directed against the curse of socialism. Over two and a half pages of it and extracts from a number of bombastic outbursts directed against it, by its especial favorites. Particular stress is laid upon Gompers' disposal of a socialist resolution presented to the A. F. of L. convention in Faneuil Hall, Boston. An extract follows: "President Gompers gave a good example of the straight-from-the-shoulder fight that trades-unionism makes against socialism in the following forcible conclusion to a speech against a socialist resolution: 'I declare to you that I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy also. I have read the best works of your most famous teachers and writers, in English and German. Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.'" Applause (page 10, June, 1905, N. C. F. Review).

Another long screed appears in the next issue also and evidently the bogey of socialism is used to great advantage (for the N. C. F. Review's circulation, at any rate), and the great leaders of labor are received with open arms by the great capitalists of the country. The pictures of great men like Gompers, Mitchell, Keefe, Mahon and all of the other labor leaders who express themselves as being opposed to working-class solidarity, sympathetic strikes, or socialism are lavishly displayed throughout the various issues. All of those who serve capitalism well are pictorialized and editorialized, and somehow there seems to be a competition as to who can get in the most.

Of course there is no such idea as a possible remuneration in one

shape or another. The great number of state and local bodies need attention. Several committees are almost continuously at work and probably some help is needed from time to time, and as the Federation can command unlimited resources, it is quite safe to say that all who do its work are well paid for it.



SAMUEL GOMPERS.

The year 1906 was another great year for the body. A commission was elected by the body to junket through Europe investigating public ownership. The expense of this body was almost one hundred thousand dollars. It came out afterwards in an investigation that the great bulk of this money came from Mr. Belmont and Mr. Ingalls, who

had collected it from several railroads. Mr. M. E. Ingalls is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the "Big Four" railroad system and he acted as chairman of the commission on the tour. It might be easily deduced from this why the public ownership question received a black-eye at the time. Labor-men, college professors and public men, entirely disinterested persons who composed this commission at the behest of the National Civic Federation, could not see any advantage to be gained from it after an extended tour and much research.

The year 1907 was the panic year and the annual convention would have been a mournful occasion but for two things. One was so ludicrous that it deserves mention. Mr. Carnegie was slated to read a paper on the currency question, which was then a most important issue. He read a voluminous document, chuck full of glaring economic contradictions, and, exhausted by the effort, he sat down and immediately fell asleep. Mr. Victor Morawetz followed him and, in a few sentences, completely disposed of Carnegie's voluminous and contradictory document; then, for over a half hour presented his view of the subject. All the while Carnegie was blissfully sleeping on his chair. He was awakened by the applause the finish of the speech occasioned and hurriedly joined in. This brought a laugh from everyone in the room, for they all could see that he was sleeping. After the applause and laughter had subsided, Mr. Carnegie arose and moved that a vote of thanks be tendered the gentleman for his illuminating address, and again there was a tumult of laughter. Possibly St. Andrew doesn't know yet what occasioned the merriment.

The banquet was the other feature that brightened the otherwise gloomy occasion. It was a feast, both literally and rhetorically—especially the latter. The bombast of the great labor leaders (Gompers and Mitchell) was appalling. They were playing to the galleries, and their pseudo-antagonism of the idea that it would be necessary to curtail wages of employes, in order to safely ride the panic wave, was so apparent that one could not help noticing it. Gompers waxed really eloquent when he called attention to the fact that "the vast fields of grain and corn give forth their bounteous yield as of yore; the earth refuses not its stores of ores and minerals; no force, hitherto unknown, smothers the fires that generate the steam and electricity. Labor stands willing—aye, ready as it always was—to create more and yet more wealth for the human family to enjoy. It would be neither just nor fair to expect labor to bear the burden of a condition that it by no means had brought on."

But, somehow or other, labor was made to bear that burden; wages were lowered; numbers of thousands were unemployed; unions

were depleted in treasuries and their powers and membership dwindled. Yet, the convention of 1908 congratulated itself upon the rapid recovery from the throes of the panic. None of the great labor leaders who spoke (Gompers, McConnell, Garretson, Mitchell, Lynch, Duncan or any of the others) in any way referred to the sufferings of their followers. In the presence of "God Knows" Taft, who was guest of honor at the banquet, how could any of them refer to the sufferings of the millions of workers and their families, when more important subjects were to be considered, such as the impending (and still impending) imprisonment of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison.

Mr. Melville E. Ingalls spoke eulogizingly of the three-to-be-prison-members of the organization and anxiously pleaded for the abolition of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law that alone was responsible for the situation. "For," said he, "just think, Mr. Gompers is a great man. And we oftentimes do honor to the great men of history. 'Tis an ancient custom to have the faces of our great men on the coins we use. Some day we may have the picture of Mr. Gompers on our coins, so look out that it don't appear there looking out between iron bars. It would be an everlasting disgrace to us."

Andrew Carnegie laid great stress upon "what a grand man" our "John Mitchell is." (was). Also "the more I get into touch with union labor, the more I get to understand and respect it. I am getting to be a better and better union man as I get better acquainted with its leading representatives."

So, from year to year the farce-comedy is enacted and labor is continuously kept in shackles by the leaders fraternizing with the capitalists. No good has ever come to labor through these fraternal gatherings. When the leading representatives of the labor movement applaud the subtle sayings of the most bitter opponents of labor organization, what has labor to expect from such representatives? Does it ever occur to the mind of the average union-member that the cost of keeping up the National Civic Federation is an enormous amount? Does it ever occur that no unions have ever contributed towards this expense? Further, does it not appear somewhat against your interest to be represented by only a third of the number on the executive board, while capital has a two-thirds representation?

I do not know as to whether such men as Gompers, Mitchell, Moffett, Garretson, O'Connell, Keefe, Mahon, Stone or several of the well-thought of leaders of labor, get any pay from the Civic Federation. It is not a material matter whether they do or not. These men have been made by you, the men and women who toil and moil. They misrepresent you when they sit supinely by and permit the capitalists

to adopt a paternalistic attitude towards you that means to you the loss of any self-respect that you may have.

They misrepresent you when they permit your condition to be deliberately misrepresented, for the effect it might momentarily create.

They misrepresent you when they enter into any sort of agreement with capitalists, the result of which ties up one union and prevents it from going to the aid of another.

They misrepresent you when they hold that there is an identity of interests between you and your employer and the proof of the identity of interests manifests itself when you are locked out, the factory closed, you starve and your employer goes upon a vacation to Europe, or elsewhere.

They misrepresent you at any time they side with your employer. They should be of you and with you, at all times. Right, or wrong, you must stand, or fall, together. You are on one side of the economic battle and your employer is on the other. Those that are for him are against you, and you should so regard them whether they are your leaders or not.

All the labor-leaders that are in the National Civic Federation are there for a purpose. That purpose is to hand over the labor movement to the keeping of the capitalists.

Remember! You don't pay to keep up the National Civic Federation. The capitalists do. And they rarely spend money uselessly.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralize the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.—Communist Manifesto.



IMMIE RILEY will come down. He's in his room now. There's a light there, see?"

The organizer of the local that had ceased to exist dropped his eyes from the lighted window across the street and glanced over the little group of Socialists huddled about the soap-box platform from which the woman speaker was to address the crowd, if any crowd could be gathered on such a night.

"Tell Jimmy there's a chance to reorganize tonight if we can get a crowd out. That'll bring him," continued the organizer addressing himself directly to a young miner who had been secretary of the dead local.

The secretary hesitated. Twice he started toward the lodging house across the street, and twice returned to the soap box where, in the light of a blazing torch, the organizer was sorting out pamphlets, selecting the ones of lowest price to offer for sale at the meeting that evening. The depressing weather, as well as the fact that many of the miners were out of work and short of money, would make it difficult to sell anything at more than ten cents.

"Say," said the secretary at last, "Riley would come all right, but his feet ain't well yet by a long way."

"I know that," growled the organizer. "I guess none of us is going to forget it. But we need him, and he'll come, just as sure as he held the light in the bottom of the shaft that night. It may mean organization, and if we get started right now the local will live. Just tell him to come down till we get things going, and then he can sign an application card and go back, or else we'll get a seat for him. Tell him who's going to speak, if he hasn't heard about it. He read about her work in the Los Angeles free-speech fight, and he wants to hear her any how."

The secretary moved off, obedient to the command. The organizer

scowled as he glanced again over the pitiful gathering of half-discouraged Socialists and sympathizers, and from them to the lighted window of Jimmie's room.

"Wait a minute!" he called after the reluctant messenger. "Don't put it too strong to Jimmie, and tell him that if his feet are hurting bad tonight we can get along without him all right if he don't come."

The secretary nodded over his shoulder and continued on his way more cheerfully.

"Who's Jimmie Riley, Comrade?" asked the woman speaker, who had heard the conversation between the officers of the dead local.

"He's a miner, member of the Western Federation, and a good fighter. If it hadn't been for his feet getting cooked, we might have kept the old local alive and made it one of the strongest in Arizona."

"Cooked?" cried the woman from California, startled.

"Yes," said the organizer. "Jimmie was——." He broke off abruptly as he recognized a passing pedestrian as a "sympathizer."

"Hey!" he yelled desperately, plunging after the man; "we want you! Great talk tonight, woman comrade from Los Angeles. Say," his voice fell as he caught up with his man and gripped him firmly by one arm, "we need you to help make a crowd. If she can stand here in a drizzle of rain, to try to get things going in this dead town, we can."

"It ain't no use," objected the other, trying to shake off the hold on his arm. "And, any how, I'm beginning to thing there ain't nothing in political action. We'll never break up the capitalist system by throwing paper wads at it."

"That's all right," said the organizer propitiatingly. "You just come along and ask the speaker some questions along that line. Maybe she can put you straight."

"No," said the other sullenly, "I ain't had supper yet, and by the time I do it'll be time enough to get to bed."

"Jimmie Riley is coming down to help make a crowd," said the organizer, with more than a suggestion of reproof in his tone; "and his feet are bad. If he——"

"Oh, hell!" ejaculated the discouraged one, turning back. "I'll stay if you think it'll do any good. Riley ought not to be coming out, though, a night like this."

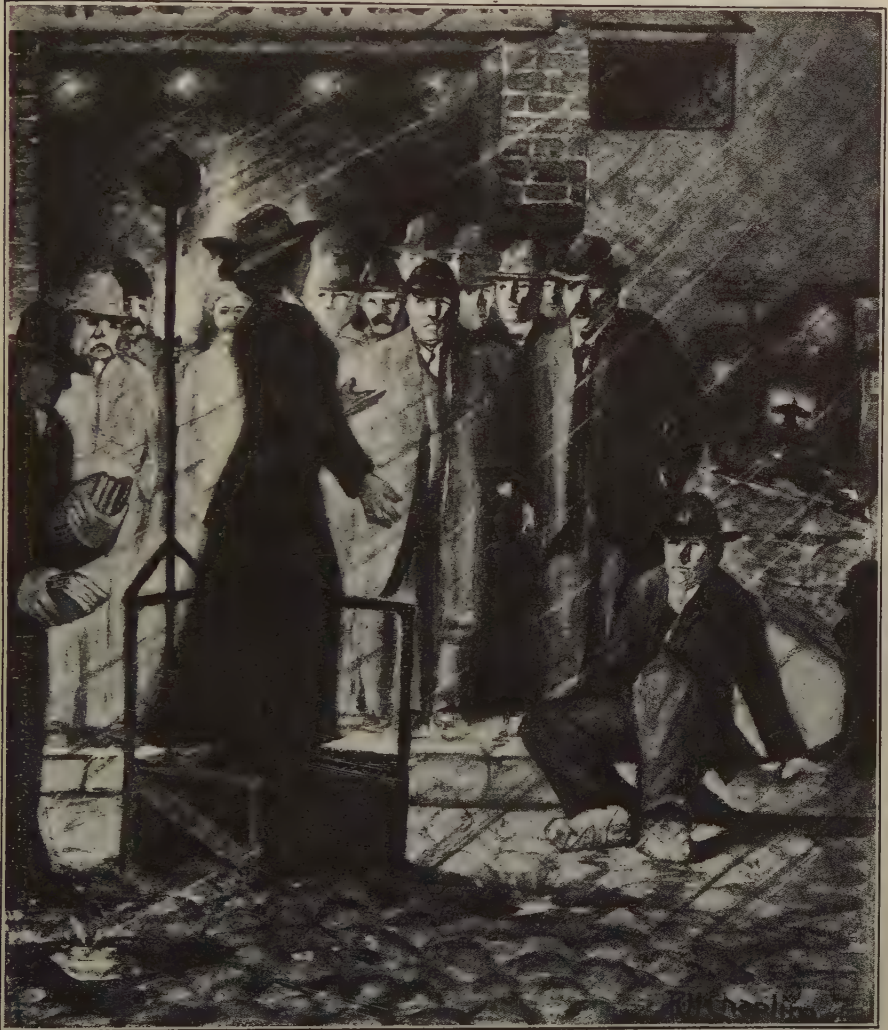
"Nor a woman to speak on the street, with the damp getting into her throat and lungs," suggested the organizer, "but if we can reorganize the local——"

"There's Jimmie now!" exclaimed the other man.

Refusing to be helped by the secretary, who walked beside him,

a man of medium height and weight, of the general appearance of thousands of other members of the Western Federation of Miners of his age, was hobbling painfully across the street.

The woman speaker looked searchingly into his face as he entered the area of light from the blazing torch. It was the face of a man



"HE HOBbled TO THE CURBSTONE AND SAT DOWN."

about 28 years of age, distinguished only by one quality which was not revealed in the faces of thousands of the younger miners, and that was the stamp of pain and pathetic patience on the homely face. The fea-

tures were unmarred by furrows of toil such as disfigure the faces of the miners in later years, but there were thin white lines about his mouth and on his forehead which told of a world of suffering endured with unassuming fortitude.

"This is Comrade Riley?" asked the speaker, introducing herself. "We're going to reorganize the local tonight, and I'm glad you're here to help."

She saw the pain-worn face light up with pleasure at the confidence of her tone.

"We shouldn't make you come out, though," she went on. "I was told of your injury, but not how it happened."

"Why, it was mostly because it would cost the mine-owners a good deal more to hire engineers to run the stationaries than to get unskilled men, and so they don't do it," said Jimmie Riley dispassionately. "In the bottom of the shaft, below the lowest level that has been run in the mine I was working in, there is always water. It runs in there from all the levels, and is pumped out. The steam pumps exhaust into the bottom of the shaft, which keeps the water there at boiling point.

"One night there were seven of us going down in the cage, when the man at the engine at the top of the shaft let the cable run clear out, so that the cage was plunged to the bottom of the shaft. That was how I got my feet cooked, standing there in the boiling water, over my ankles, till I could be lifted out.

"Comrade, I think I'll have to sit down." He smiled wanly, apologetically, as he hobbled to the curbstone and sat down. "My feet hurt me more when it's wet."

"You shouldn't have come out, Comrade," said the speaker.

Jimmie Riley smiled again, his pathetically patient smile.

"And you shouldn't be out to speak, a night like this," he said, "but those who are carrying the light——" he broke off in some confusion, as if from a failure to complete the expression of a half-formed thought. "I hope we can reorganize the local tonight," he said. "I'm getting so much better now I could do lots to help keep it up, and I'll have lots of time, because my feet will never be so I can work in the mines again."

"Tell me," said the speaker, "does the company support you, since you were crippled through their failure to employ a competent engineer?"

She saw Jimmie Riley smile with quiet amusement, and at the same time she heard a snarl of bitter fury behind her. She turned and

faced the man whom the organizer had just brought back to help swell the crowd.

"The company!" raged the man. "He could get nothing from the company, but **he's supported by his union.**"

The man stepped back and began talking with the organizer. The speaker turned again to Jimmie Riley, asking:

"And the other six men who were with you in the cage, were they so frightfully burned?"

"Oh, no," was the answer. "They weren't hurt to amount to anything. They jumped to the walls of the shaft, getting any hold they could, and so got out of the boiling water."

"But why didn't you jump, too?" she asked, wondering.

"Why," answered Jimmie Riley, in seeming surprise at her failure to understand, "I couldn't without dropping the lantern, and leaving it dark so that none of the boys could have found hand holds. I was the one with the light."

Faint and sick as she grasped the meaning of what he was saying so dispassionately, the speaker listened as Jimmie Riley, displaying no emotion nor any feeling that what he had done was anything but a matter of course, went on:

"You see, when several men go down to work together only one of them carries a lantern. When we fell to the bottom of the shaft none of us would have got out without being badly scalded if there hadn't been light. I was carrying the lantern."

For a moment the woman was silent, and she felt herself choking. The organizer came up, saying hurriedly:

"Ready, Comrade? Guess we better start now, before anybody goes away."

"Just in a moment," she answered. "Well, all right, yes; I'm ready."

She mounted the soap box and began, her voice shaking a little at first, but growing more steady as she proceeded with her argument for the political and economic organization of the workers of the world. She felt that she was doing well, and could see that the crowd was growing in spite of the drizzling rain, but through all her thoughts the phrase was running:

"The one with the light."

The General Confederation of Labor.

By LOUIS DUCHEZ.

INTRODUCTION.



IN view of the tremendous interest that is being taken in industrial unionism the last year, not only in the United States by throughout Europe, it is highly important to the working class of America to know the progress made by the workers of France, where, doubtless, the revolutionary union movement has made greater progress than in any other country.

In regard to the revolutionary unions of France and Italy George D. Herron wrote from Europe in the *International Socialist Review* a few months ago: "A turn of the hand might place the French government—and in two or three years the Italian government—in the hands of the revolutionary unions of the syndicalists." He further says: "The syndicalist revolutionary unions are compelling things from respective governments, and are achieving results for the working class beyond anything that Socialist members of parliament have ventured to demand."

The following article is the substance of a pamphlet entitled, "*La Confederation Generale du Travail*," by Emile Pouget—one of the foremost of revolutionary unionists in the world to-day—and published by the "Library of Political and Social Sciences" of Paris. I have attempted to condense this booklet of 65 pages as much as possible, outlining the structure of the Confederation, the tactics employed and something of the results attained so far. The pamphlet is a history of the organization up until 1908.

THE ORGANIZATION.

The General Confederation of Labor was organized in 1895 at a syndicalist congress held at Limoges, which is perhaps the most Socialistic center in France. It is the most dominant labor organization, both in numbers and in spirit, in France to-day. It is not affiliated with any political party.

At its base is the syndicate, which is an aggregation of workers in different crafts and different kinds of employment. Second, the Federations of Syndicates and the Union of Syndicates; and, lastly, the General Confederation of Labor, which is an aggregation of federations. In each degree the autonomy of the organization is complete.

The structure of the General Confederation is not a cut and dried affair. Its development has been remarkably spontaneous. First the

syndicates developed and as the need of greater power became apparent, the federations sprung up, and, lastly, the General Confederation. No one is excluded from membership because of religious, philosophic or political views, so long as he or she is a bona fide wage earner.

It has only been since 1884 that the law permitting the existence of syndicates was enacted. Long before that, however, they were in existence. Because they were growing in power, the State sanctioned what it could not prevent. In 1884 the State, after abolishing legislative prohibition in regard to them, enacted another law requiring them to deposit their constitution and by-laws and the names of all their officers in the mayor's office of the place in which the syndicate existed. It also stipulated that the officers shall be Frenchmen. Everything was done by the State to curb their influence and if possible to destroy them. But they developed without regard to legal requirements; and, as a result, a general feeling of distrust among the syndicalists in regard to the State's attitude toward them prevails. It is needless to say that they had a fierce struggle to gain a foothold.

The Confederation is founded upon a knowledge of the class struggle. It is essentially a fighting organization. Solidarity and the resistance of capitalist exploitation are its watchwords for the present-day battles of the workers. But it aims at greater things. One of the principles which the Confederation teaches is that the embryo of the new society is the economic organization of the workers. The Confederation presses forward with that end in view. It holds that there is no harmony between itself and the State, and resists the latter to the extent of its power. The Confederation has passed that stage where it can be brought in harmony with the State and capitalism. In fact, from its very foundation 15 years ago, revolutionary principles were taught.

Another trait of the Confederation which characterizes it as a revolutionary organization is the fact that institutions of mutual help play no part within the organization. There are, however, co-operatives of different character carried on outside the organization in general. Everything within the organization is avoided that tends to hamper its combative spirit. In this respect the French syndicates differ radically from the trade unions of England and Germany.

In the Preamble of the Confederation, after explaining the class character of modern society and the futility of expecting the State to help the workers even if it desired to do so, it urges a class organization of the workers on the economic field. "Only through this form of organization," the Preamble states, "will the workers be able to

struggle effectively against their oppressors and completely abolish capitalism and the wage system."

The governmental statistics state that there are 5,000 syndicates in France. Of this number over 2,500 are affiliated with the Confederation. They are called the "red" syndicates, because of their revolutionary spirit and aggressiveness in all lines of working class activity in opposition to the public powers and the bosses.

Besides these there are about 900 syndicates not affiliated with any organization that are "red" in character. So out of the 5,000 syndicates about 3,400 are revolutionary and endorse the Preamble of the Confederation. The remaining 1,600 syndicates are what are called "yellow." They act upon the principle of the harmony of interests between capital and labor. Many of them have been organized by the employers and are officered by foremen, "straw-bosses," etc. Like the recent movement of the clergy of France to organize Catholic unions, which the "reds" have labeled "green" syndicates, the aim of those in charge of the "yellow" syndicates is to sidetrack and prevent the revolutionary unions from gaining ground. But their efforts are futile, as we have seen. We learn that these "yellow" syndicates are decaying and the rank and file of their members are being carried into the ranks of the "reds" by the increasingly revolutionary activity of the latter.

The syndicates are affiliated with the Confederation in two ways. First, those of different occupations are assembled in one city or region; second, the syndicates of the same occupation or industry over the whole country. The first groupments are called the "Bourses du Travail" or Unions of Syndicates; the second the National Federations. The latter is more the plan of the Confederation. The former is more popular, however, which is doubtless due to the fact that the "Bourses du Travail" are what would be called temples of labor and were built by the different cities for all classes of workers, organized and unorganized, to meet in to discuss their grievances. In this connection it is well to note that the object of the municipalities in building these temples of labor was to bring the unions more under the control of the States. In certain instances ordinances were passed governing them which were diametrically opposed to the organizations which they claimed to uphold, and in many cases the workers have refused to meet in these Bourses. The tendency now is to break away from them in order to keep clear the class character of the syndicates.

There are 135 "Bourses du Travail" or Unions of Syndicates affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor, taking in about 2,500 syndicates, 1,600 of which have now rallied to the National Fed-

erations. The "Bourses du Travail" tend to keep the workers divided, still it is through them principally that the workers have gone to the National Federations.

The "Bourses du Travail" are performing an important function in freely assisting those out of employment to secure the same and in furnishing legal advice and transportation from one point to another to the best of their ability. As a rallying ground and avenue of propaganda they have meant much.

Since the congress of Amiens, 1906, however, the federations of existing trades, without being eliminated, are admitted to the Confederation as federations of industries.

A remarkable spirit of solidarity and democracy prevails throughout the Confederation. Pouget says: "The centralism which, in other countries, kills labor's initiative and hobbels the autonomy of the syndicates, disgusts the French working class; and it is that spirit of autonomy and federalism (initiative and solidarity) and which is the essence of the industrial society of the future, which gives to French syndicalism a profound revolutionary phase."

There are 60 Federations affiliated in the Confederation and three of what are called National Syndicates. Nearly all the federations publish a monthly paper which is distributed free to all the respective members. Then there is the national organ, "The Voice of the People," which is published weekly.

The 1906 statistics of the Confederation showed that there are 205,000 members in the Confederation. The workers of the building trades are the most numerous. They number 210 syndicates. The printers and binders and the metal and machinery workers number each 180 syndicates; the textile workers 115; leather workers 64; agricultural workers, which are composed principally of wine growers, 100; wood choppers 85; moulders 79; besides several other smaller groups.

The term "National Syndicate" was given to the railroad workers, which comprises 178 sections. They have had to fight the hardest for the right to organize. The State only consented to their organizing and joining the Confederation when it could not avoid it. But the struggle has made them the most militant of all the syndicates. The same thing is true of the mail carriers and the school teachers. The latter two, however, regardless of State intervention, are getting together and they are manifesting a militant spirit in proportion to the pressure of the State upon them.

The Confederation is not an organization of authority and direction; instead, it is one of co-ordination. It aims to bring into

harmony the various groups affiliated with it for the general welfare of the working class. The ideal proclaimed and followed is "the entire elimination of the forces of oppression, established by the State and the forces of exploitation manifested by capitalism." Its grounds for neutrality in politics are that the wage system cannot be abolished and still retain the political State. It aims at a social reconstruction where the workers will have direct say in the exercise of their labor power through an organization of the workers, with its foundation laid in the industries and not upon the institutions of official capitalist society.

The fact that the Confederation does not take part in parliamentary life does not mean that it does not take a stand against the State. On the contrary, as is well known, its position in that respect is well defined. Its opposition to the State increases and intensifies as its power grows. True to the Socialist philosophy, it holds that all power is economic and that the proletariat in order to overthrow capitalism must exercise its economic power along the line of the industrial organization of capitalism in order to effectively win concessions now and form the basis of the new society when capitalism is to be overthrown. The political action of the Confederation is exercised in the form of exterior pressure, and, as we will show later on, is the real and effective method of the workers in compelling legislative favors.

The National Federations and the "Bourses du Travail" each form a section of the Confederation and officers are elected from each, composing a Confederal Committee. This Confederal Committee harmonizes the work of the organization, directs the general action and carries on an active propaganda. The treasury of the Confederation is comparatively insignificant. In this respect its aims are limited to the meeting of administrative and propaganda expenses. In case of strikes or mass movements it depends, principally, upon assessments and voluntary contributions. In a large degree the strength and revolutionary character of the Confederation is due to the fact that there is no honey jar at the national headquarters to which self-seeking individuals gravitate. Conventions or congresses are held every year, in some cases every two years. The Confederation proper meets every two years.

It has recently been estimated that the Confederation numbers about 300,000 members and is just now gaining that momentum which is destined to make it the ruling power in France.

TACTICS.

As stated, the method in dealing with the hostility of capitalist institutions is that of exterior pressure—what is commonly known as

direct action. Its same attitude holds good in regard to religious and philosophic conceptions. The prime object is to get the workers into the "red" syndicates. This done, it knows that in associating and struggling with others who have like economic interests, they will not only be carried on by the momentum of the organization, but they will at the same time develop their class knowledge along all lines. In this respect we see that the Confederation applies the modern secret in education—the inductive method. It may well be characterized in the words, "Learning by doing."

In this connection it is well to note that the methods of Direct Action do not necessarily imply violence. On the contrary, they may mean the reverse, as has been shown in numerous cases in France. Direct Action is the dominant trait of French syndicalism. The common method in opposing State hostility is that of mass uprising in the form of propaganda meetings and demonstrations for some particular thing, as for instance, the eight-hour day in May, 1906, or to compel the enforcement of some law in their favor. The common method of fighting the employers are the strikes, the boycott, demanding the label and the sabotage.

Hairsplitting and squabbles now find little room in the Confederation; there is too much revolutionary activity in the movement to give an opening to those who live by talk. Pouget says that if the spirit of State intervention were to enter the Confederation it would be a good police in favor of the exploiters and would lead the organization toward conservative ends. That fear has left the militants of the movement, now, however.

In order to parliamentise the action of the syndicates the Superior Council of Labor (the Civic Federation of France) was established. Its function, as Pouget states, is "to chew working class laws into parliament"; in short to attempt to absorb the revolutionary energy of the workers into "hot air."

The avenue of the strike has been the most effective method of organizing the "red" syndicates. The Confederation has discovered that and every opportunity is taken. It has also been discovered that wherever a ray of confederal influence manifests itself during a strike, a profound revolutionary aspect is noticed. A victorious strike is a partial expropriation of the instruments of production, and, under the guidance of confederal influence, has sharpened the revolutionary appetites of the workers to a remarkable degree.

The declaration of strikes, in most cases, is left to the initiative of those interested. In the Constitution of the Federation of Leather Workers we read: "All syndicates before declaring a strike shall notify

the Federal Committee. The Federal Committee, without having the right to oppose a declaration of strike, may make objections if judged necessary." In some cases, however, the declaration of a strike rests with the Central Committee; as, for instance, with the printers and bookbinders.

The use of the boycott and the demand for the label are well known—though they have amounted to very little. The "sabotage" (following strictly the bosses' rules, turning out inferior work, etc.) has been used effectively in compelling the bosses to give in and still remain at work. Of course, back of all these methods is the organized and disciplined power of the workers.

It is in the mass movements, however, that the Confederation has found its greatest stimulus. In the midst of them the organization grows tremendously, revolutionary spirit blazes and proletarian power is impressed directly upon the minds of the workers. One of the prime objects of the Confederation is to be ready for these mass movements, encourage the spirit as much as possible, welding, when the interest is at white heat, the workers into a solid body. It holds that every mass movement, whether manifested in the form of a general strike, general agitation for the enforcement of some law or in the form of propaganda demonstrations, undermines the faith of the workers in existing institutions, tears away the veil and exposes the class character of capitalist society, and at the same time develops faith and self-reliance in the minds of the workers in their own organization.

One of the most characteristic of these mass movements took place in 1903-1904 against the employment agencies. After two months of increasing agitation the Confederation compelled the government to suppress them. It did in two months by united effort what could not be done in 20 years before through petitions and parliamentary wrangling. (Those who have been following the Spokane fight for free speech against the employment agencies can realize what the suppression of these employment agencies meant to the French workers.)

It was the same kind of a mass movement applying exterior pressure which broke out after well-laid plans the 1st of May, 1906, that compelled the government to enact the eight-hour law and the weekly rest day.

It is important to remember, too, that there is nothing like these mass movements aimed against the State to send the chills up the spines of the middle class and win their good will, for they are generally hit the hardest where a good blow counts—in their pocketbooks.

Lastly, all these mass movements of more or less intensity are

but preparations for the final charge before the revolutionary change—the general strike. All previous revolts in whatever form are but preparations for this one. It will be the decisive blow. The refusal, in this connection, to continue production of the capitalistic plan is not purely a negative move. It is concomitant with taking possession of the instruments of production and organizing society on the co-operative plan, which is effected by the social cells of the new society—the syndicates. Sometimes strikes are generalized to one federation (such as the last strike of the Parisian electricians) and sometimes they are generalized in certain localities, such as took place in Marseille, Saint-Etienne, Nante, etc. At any rate, they are but partial catastrophes or preliminaries of the general expropriation of capitalism.

So it can be seen that the Confederation is not merely an organization with aims for the immediate betterment of the workers, but it is being impressed upon the proletariat of France that it is the very foundation of the new society of which they will have direct control. It is seen, also, that with this final blow the present society is dislocated, ruined, and that the few useful functions of the State and municipalities will be transferred to the corporate federations in the syndicalist unions—where the centers of cohesion will find a new base. The realization of this end will be the Industrial Democracy which utopians and scientists have said so much about.

RESULTS.

The benefits the French workers have received through this economic and class organization can only be approximately judged. The great psychological benefits which will mean so much for the Social Revolution we can only estimate by the revolutionary activity of the workers of France so far. We will dwell upon the material results. In the ten years between 1890 and 1900 the percentage of successful strikes was 23.8; partial victories, 32.2; lost, 43.8. During these ten years 56 strikes of every hundred turned out favorable to those interested. It is also shown that about 61 per cent. of those engaged were in one way or another benefited by the conflicts.

During the following four years (1901-1904) the results of 2,628 strikes effecting 718,306 workers are as follows: 644 strikes, 24 per cent. won; 995 strikes, 38 per cent. partial victories; 989 strikes, 38 per cent. lost. So it is seen that 62 per cent. of these strikes turned out favorable to the workers engaged. The statistics given by the strikers also show that 79 per cent. of those engaged in the conflicts were benefited in one way or another. In what country have the workers made so good a showing?

But that is not all. The statistics of the strikes of 1906 make a better showing. Out of 830 strikes in that year 184 were entirely won, 361 partially successful and 285 lost. One hundred and forty-seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight participated in the 830 conflicts. The statistics show that more than 83 per cent. of those who engaged in the conflicts were in one way or another benefited. The increasing progress is, indeed, noticeable.

Also, in 1905 out of the 530,000 strikers that demanded a decrease of the hours of work, nearly 40 per cent. were entirely successful, 51 per cent. were partially so and only 9 per cent. lost.

All over France syndical action has benefited the workers. In the center of France before the organization of syndicates the woodchoppers were working 15 and 16 hours a day. To-day they work 10 hours and have increased their wages from 40 to 50 per cent. Besides, they have abolished the pooling or contract system which was one of the worst things they had to deal with. The wine growers after a series of strikes in 1904-1905 won an increase in wages from 25 to 30 per cent. with the work day reduced to 6 and 8 hours a day. In 10 years the match workers (males and females), which have now a very solid organization with 90 per cent. of all the match workers in the organization, have raised their wages 50 per cent., with the nine-hour day. The workers in the mail system and those of the telegraph and telephone lines have obtained through syndical action the eight-hour day and an increase of 30 per cent. The workers in the government navy yard after three years of hard fighting have the eight-hour day and a large increase in wages, also. The bakers, barbers and nearly all other workers in the public service department have received corresponding increases in wages and better working conditions. Those of the building trades have made remarkable progress also.

But the mass movement for the eight-hour day which burst through the crust the first day of May, 1906, is the crowning glory of the Confederation so far. It has been the greatest thing the Confederation has done to solidify its forces and give the working class of France a taste of proletarian power.

At the 1904 congress of the Confederation the resolution was passed. The date of action was set for May 1st, 1906. For eighteen months after the congress adjourned an intense educational propaganda was kept up in order to show the workers the tremendous power of better working conditions and the higher wages the eight-hour day meant in itself. All forces were centered to this one end.

When the day arrived workers all over France knew it and everywhere when the eight hours were up from border to border workers

picked up their buckets and went home. Of course there were great struggles, and in many places awful defeats. These things are expected in the class war. But there were more victories. Not only victories direct from the bosses but the government was compelled to pass the eight-hour law, which is supposed to be in force all over France. When the Confederation grows in power not only will the eight-hour law be enforced, but a still shorter work day. The agitation during the eight-hour mass movement did one thing, which alone is worth all the effort put forth, and that was to teach the workers that the short-hour day and a small individual output mean, in themselves, higher wages. Before the eight-hour movement the general rule was that the man who did the most directed the pace. It has now changed. The man who does the least is the pace setter. Individual production has decreased 20 to 25 per cent. And we see this substantiated by the fact that the unemployed army of France is smaller in proportion to its population than in any other country in the world.

These are some of the concrete material results gained by the workers of France through their class organization in the industries. It is, however, the potential power of the Confederation and the great hope it inspires in the proletariat of France with reference to the Social Revolution that interests us most. Even with its comparatively small numbers it has done wonders. Its revolutionary vibration has penetrated every institution of capitalist society in France. It has won the respect and support of a large part of the standing army, as was seen a few years ago when a whole regiment threw down its guns and refused to shoot down the strikers of the vineyards. Even the prison guards of a large number of institutions have banded themselves into "red" syndicates, reducing their hours of labor and raising their wages. We learned recently, too, that a large number of the Parisian policemen have also formed a syndicate. Premier Briand is worked up over it and in an address before them some time ago said that he approved of a fraternal organization among them for mutual assistance, but it was out of their sphere to affiliate with a "militant union," meaning, of course, the Confederation. It is stated by several militants that already a large percentage of the "slugging committee of the capitalist class" may be "counted upon"—when something big happens. But they are not depending on that. They know that if they have the economic power all other power is theirs.

Another feature in connection with the Confederation which is an indication of remarkable solidarity, is the action of strikers in sending their children, in many cases hundreds of miles, across the country, where they are kept in the homes of other workers who are

employed, while the parents stay at home and do all in their power to win.

CONCLUSION.

We have traced the development of the Confederation from the syndicates upward. We have shown that while its growth was spontaneous it was natural; that as the pressure of economic conditions pointed out the need of greater working class power, that power developed, and that the syndicates assembled into federations and the federations formed the Confederation. We have also shown that the tactics of the organization were first, last and always those of Direct Action; that its methods of dealing with the hostility of the State were those of exterior pressure; that it holds that parliamentarianism weakens revolutionary fibre, tends to prevent the growth of solidarity and blurs the line of the class struggle; that it has remained neutral to political, religious and philosophical doctrines, holding that the prime object of the revolutionary movement is to get the bona fide wage earners into a class organization on the economic field, resting assured that they will think right and act right in their collective associations under the confederal influence.

We have further shown that these tactics of Direct Action have won; that they have won concessions from the capitalists of France that are not equaled in any other country; and that they have but sharpened the appetites of the workers for more.

Lastly, we have shown that while the Confederation and its "red" syndicates carried out a "constructive program," fruitful, indeed, with "immediate demands" that were granted in most instances, it carries with it and keeps ever in sight its ultimate aim—the Co-operative Commonwealth. Yea, it is already laying the base for that co-operative commonwealth—the new society. We have shown that the Confederation is actually preparing itself and teaching its membership for the management of industry when capitalism is overthrown. In the language of the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World—a revolutionary union of the United States with principles and tactics identical with the General Confederation—it is "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Now, the revolutionists of other countries may ask the question why it is that the proletariat of France has developed a revolutionary movement superior to those of the other capitalist nations. Many reasons, perhaps, could be offered. We will suggest two. First, there is the French blood. The Celtic race has always been a fighting race. And France is universally known as "the classic land of revolt." Then there is its geographical status and climate. It is about half agricul-

ture, half industrial, so has had the mineral resources in order to develop into a big industrial nation, splendid outlets to other countries, and a climate and traditions that attract its own and other peoples. France, like the United States, can live within itself.

Then the French nation has gone through many political changes, in which the working class has painted the streets with their own blood. These "revolutions" and "communes," brutal and terrible as they have been, have been lessons to the proletariat of France. It has been taught by cruel experience that mere shifting of political scenes will not benefit it; that it has been fighting the battles of the nobility, the capitalist class, the middle class and all the elements of the old society long enough. It is now going to fight for itself, taking no quarter, and conscious of its social mission. Hence the General Confederation of Labor.

The proletariat of France is carrying the torch of the Revolution in Europe.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.—Communist Manifesto.

Latest News from Spokane

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.



THE agitation of the I. W. W. and free speech fight in Spokane, Washington, if it brought no other effects has been valuable in that it has forced the officials to take action against the employment agencies. In the beginning of the difficulty they were admitted by Judge Mann to be the cause of all the trouble. Since that time Mayor Pratt has frankly admitted refunding thousands of dollars to workingmen who had been sold fictitious jobs by the employment agencies. There were about thirty-one in the city of Spokane but the licenses of all but twelve of these were revoked.



ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

The following statement from Mayor Pratt explains this action: "On the whole we have found that the larger agencies have not been causing so much trouble. Some of the larger men have made a study of the business, understanding human nature, and have been successful. In some cases we find that men who do not understand the business have engaged in it nevertheless and have made a little money and have held on to every dollar that has come into their possession whether they were entitled to it or not."

The institution of job-selling has by no means been abolished. Simply the smaller ones have been weeded out and the larger ones, which

are practically the labor-furnishing departments of the lumber trusts and railroad corporations, have been permitted to remain. Legislation was suggested in the city council to the effect that employment should be furnished free to workingmen and all fees should be borne by the employer. The Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railways thereupon publicly announced that upon the passage of such legislation they would boycott Spokane and secure their labor in the east and in the coast cities. The threat had the desired effect upon the city council and the proposed legislation was summarily dropped. (Such a threat upon the part of the I. W. W. would be characterized as criminal conspiracy).

A further effect of publicity in connection with the free-speech fight is the enforced resignation of at least three members of the police force. Scores of affidavits have been furnished by I. W. W. men alleging extreme brutality on the part of the police. Officers Shannon and Miller were mentioned by name in these affidavits and their acts specified. Shannon is 63 years of age, already three years past pension time. The Board of Police Commissioners accepted his resignation by a unanimous vote although he stoutly protested against rendering it. His reward for years of service as a police officer consists of \$47.50 per month and a position as night watchman and house detective for the Spokane Hotel. Miller was also requested to resign from the force against his individual protest, to be at once re-employed by the Washington Water Power Company. Both the Spokane Hotel and the Washington Water Power Company believe in the policy of "rewarding our friends." It is needless to say, perhaps, both of these men have a record in connection with the recent imprisonment of the I. W. W. men that will hardly bear the light of public investigation and their sudden removal from the police force, but further justifies us in this conclusion.

Another of the incidental but beneficial effects of the ever-increasing publicity is the agitation of the appointment of a matron in the city jail. The Woman's Club and various organizations of a non-partisan character have taken up the fight. The city council voted at one meeting to appoint a matron and with the trickery common to all politicians killed the motion in the finance committee on the grounds of expense. The city of Spokane is in a peculiar financial condition. She can afford to suppress the Constitution of the United States, yet cannot afford a matron in her city jail.

Since last writing for the REVIEW all of the I. W. W. conspirators have been disposed of as follows: Roe, 90 days in the county jail; Amundsen, 15 days in the county jail; Fisher, 30 days in the county jail; Brazier, 5 months in the county jail; Gatewood, 4 months in the county jail; Douglass, 30 days in the county jail; Reese, 15 days in the county jail; Whitehead, Speed, Justh, Foss, Grant and Shippy, 6 months in the

county jail. The trial of the latter has been well characterized in a western Socialist paper as "*Six business men sentenced six workingmen to six months in six minutes.*" The time element was really but a few seconds over this.

Attorney Symmes of Chicago was associated with Attorney Fred H. Moore in the defense of these cases, but the "expense to the county" was held up in such appalling terms by the prosecuting attorney's office that the able defense of our lawyers was powerless to counteract the economic fear of these little tax-payers.

One of the most humorous documents yet foisted upon the innocent public is a letter of Mayor Pratt to Prosecuting Attorney Pugh, published on January 8th, wherein he compliments the prosecuting attorney on his "able, energetic and willingly given assistance during the recent I. W. W. demonstration against the laws of this city which contributed in a great degree to the victory over the conspiracy to defeat the enforcement of law in this community."

Leonard D. Abbott, a well-known Socialist in New York, addressed the Mayor in regard to the treatment accorded myself and others in the county jail. His vigorous protest was characterized by Mayor Pratt in an open letter on January 7th as "impudent criticism." The letter read as follows: "It may surprise you to be informed that Miss Flynn was never confined in the Spokane city jail; that inasmuch as the charge preferred against her was conspiracy under the state law she was confined in the Spokane County jail over which this city and its authorities have no jurisdiction. However, those having charge of that jail, while admitting that Miss Flynn was confined therein, deny decisively the wild and hysterical inferences and conclusions drawn by Miss Flynn."

"A man's reputation is dear to him, and if based upon true character he deserves that his good name should not be unjustly attacked as a mere incident to a hysterical and lawbreaking conspirator. We who know him know that his character is so high and his daily conduct so well ordered that Miss Flynn's charge against this man refutes itself and discloses the prejudice and hysterical character of her letter."

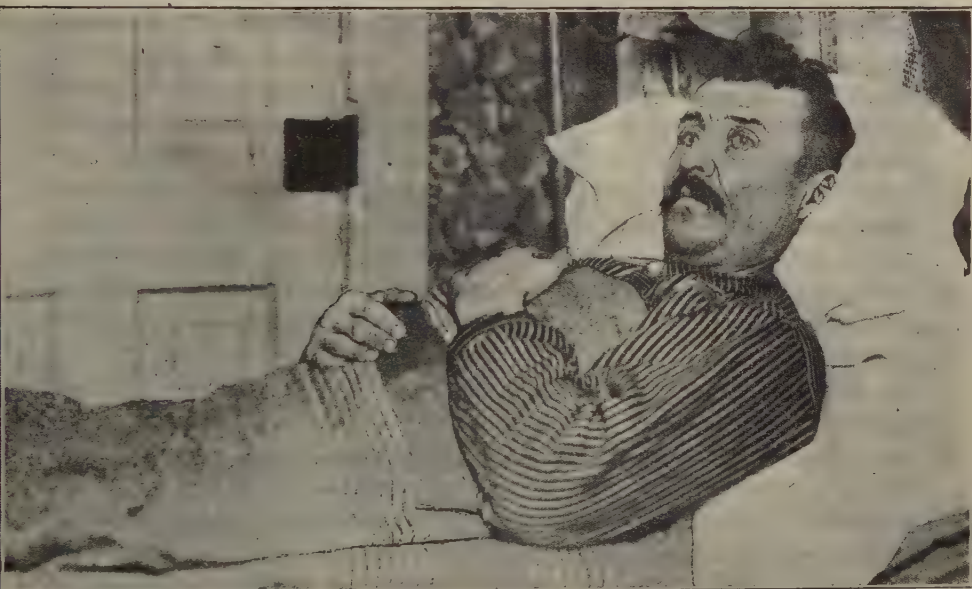
Chief of Police Sullivan is quoted as follows: "I have been on the force 20 years and I have never heard a complaint from any female prisoner against her treatment here until the charges of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. I think them of the same brand of lies as those against the police department. If there is a spark of decency left in them the women do not go to jail but are provided for otherwise."

Sheriff Pugh is quoted as follows: "The only complaint ever registered was by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the I. W. W. leader who made charges against the jailers that were false and made out of whole cloth."

Readers of the SOCIALIST REVIEW will remember that the "Indus-

trial Worker" was suppressed by the forcible confiscation of 7,000 copies in the office of the Inland Printing Company. Chief of Police Sullivan justified this drastic action by saying that he would proceed at once under the criminal libel law. This story was published in the confiscated issue of the "Industrial Worker," yet almost two months have elapsed and no legal action has been taken to substantiate the chief's claim.

Upon the publication of the Mayor's letter he was openly challenged to take action under the criminal libel law or to apologize for his statements in regard to the condition of my mind. He did not have the cour-



GEORGE PROSSER.

age to take a decided stand on either ground. Thereupon the attorneys for the I. W. W. started suit against the three officials quoted above for the sum of \$10,000 each. Needless to say with the sort of jury we are able to draw in Spokane we hardly expect to collect \$30,000 for "*spending money*," but we certainly intend to force these officials, who so commonly brand one as hysterical and libelous, to prove their assertions.

Since the release of the majority charged with disorderly conduct, suits have been entered amounting to \$120,000 against Chief of Police Sullivan, Captain of Detectives Burns, Captain Miles and Officers Shannon, Warner, Nelson and Jelsett. These suits are based upon the treatment the men received in the sweat box and the Franklin School. Every man injured will certainly cost the city of Spokane thousands of dollars before the fight is settled. The tax payers seem to have no sense of jus-

tice or humanity, consequently an appeal to their pocket-books as a last resort will be the most effective. The I. W. W. have already been forced to spend hundreds of dollars from the defense fund caring for sick and disabled members as they were discharged from custody. At the present time one man, George Prosser, is ill at the Kearney Sanitarium, two others, Ed. Collins and M. Johnson, are confined in local hotels with extreme cases of rheumatism, and Frank Reed is in the Washington Sanitarium ill with erysipelas. This little fellow who, by the way is one of Uncle Sam's ex-soldiers, went through the hunger strike at Fort Wright and but a few days after his release was re-arrested charged with criminal conspiracy and desecrating the flag. When he was taken ill he was allowed to remain for 48 hours without medical treatment and in a terrible delirium. County Physician Webb excused this ill-treatment by saying that Reed had been left in charge of a trustee, in other words—a fellow prisoner. He was put under the care of a special nurse and during the first 48 hours he was in an extremely critical condition. The cost to the I. W. W. for the first two days alone amounted to \$166.00. This is not reported in any mercenary sense for dollars are of course not to be considered in the balance with the life of a revolutionist, but the extreme character of his suffering and the costly treatment that it required is a severe reproach to the standard of civilization attained in the Spokane County jail.

Governor M. E. Hay has put himself on record with the following statement: "The I. W. W.'s do not seem to be able to understand the idea of our form of government. A large percentage of them are non-residents, many of them foreigners, and no small percentage absolutely illiterate. They desire no laws that interfere with their way of thinking. If we were all of that opinion we would soon have no law but anarchy and that is the law of might." There are laws in the State of Washington forbidding cigarette smoking, forbidding tipping, demanding open screens before saloons; forbidding playing cards, forbidding the exercise of ones "God given and inherent right" to free speech, but it certainly is the last straw to have the Governor criticise those who "*desire no laws that interfere with their way of thinking.*" Not only are we deprived of free speech, free press, free assembly, but it seems we must now submit a schedule of our thoughts for official approval, and this is "Free America."

The Chamber of Commerce of Spokane have appointed a military committee to devise schemes for getting recruits for the militia, and have decided to give as a premium military brushes and gold watches to all militia men who bring in a substantial number of recruits. The inevitable result will be a strong well-armed force of ignorant, brutal men, practically under the control of the Chamber of Commerce, to be used in de-

fence of their "economic" interests in further I. W. W. demonstrations. These, in conjunction with the negro soldiers at Fort Wright, are certainly typical of the "*Slugging committee of the capitalist class.*" The workers will feed them, clothe them, house them—to be murdered by them when they fight for their rights.

In view of the recent developments the contention of the officials that the I. W. W. can "have a hall" becomes not only an absurdity, but an insult. The Socialist Party Local has rented the Oliver Hall for six years, but on January 17th, after a talk by myself on "Industrial Unionism," they were notified that they could no longer secure the hall. Application was made by both the Socialist and the I. W. W. to a number of owners of halls as well as to theatrical managers, exorbitant rents were offered, but the same curt refusal was general everywhere. But one hall is open to the I. W. W. to-day. The police notified the Turner society that they would have to quit renting their hall for free speech meetings, and the latter body (ignorant foreigners, the Chief would probably call them) voted to rent their hall to us whenever it was not otherwise engaged and demanded that the police take legal action if it were objectionable to them.

The Turner Society is certainly to be congratulated. They are the only people in Spokane who have the courage to take a stand against a popular prejudice in favor of the right. The I. W. W. are holding splendid lecture meetings every Wednesday and Sunday nights at this hall. Organizer James P. Thompson has been released on \$2,000 bond and he is now doing the speaking, although in a very weak condition, having lost 25 pounds as a result of 90 days in jail.

One of the most noticeable features of the entire fight is the splendid liberality of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor. Local after local upon receiving an appeal for financial assistance have emptied their treasury to us, expressing the regret that they did not have more to offer.

I addressed the convention of the Shingle Weavers at Marysville, Washington, on January 3rd, and they passed a strong resolution of endorsement, and also a motion donating \$100.00 to the defense. A recent trip through British Columbia netted splendid financial results from the locals of the W. F. of M., this in spite of President Moyer's recent attack upon the free speech fight and the I. W. W.'s, wherein he characterized "the so-called I. W. W. as an absolute failure," and prophesied that they would be a "thing of the past in less than 12 months from to-day." He prophesied that the Butte Miner's Union would be carried down to destruction in this crash if it continued to assist the I. W. W., but the threat did not seem to have greatly worried either the miners of Butte or B. C.

They probably believe that a man who would have been throttled on the scaffold by the capitalist class had it not been for the organized labor throughout the United States is certainly not one to criticise a revolutionary and militant labor organization.

The trial of myself and fellow worker Filigno commenced Wednesday, February 9th, and at date of this writing the jury has been finally completed. A change of venue was requested on a basis of intense prejudice created by the Spokesman-Review and the Evening Chronicle, but the motion was denied by Judge Kennan. One hundred and twenty-six names were produced in court as signers to a protest against a change of venue, one of whom was the Reverend Dr. Hindley. Yet one prospective juror after another admitted intense prejudice on the basis of increased taxation or newspaper articles and had to be excused by the court. The further progress of the trial and the ultimate decision will be reported in next month's issue of the REVIEW. Here's to the ultimate victory of the toilers.



M. JOHNSON.

Campaign Methods

BY J. G. PHELPS STOKES.

(Report of Special Committee submitted to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, January 24, 1909, but rejected.)



At the present stage in the development of our movement, the chief aim of our campaigns should be the education of the people to an understanding of the wastefulness, destructiveness and basic injustice of the capitalist system, and to an appreciation of the infinite possibilities of betterment in the proposed Socialist system of rational democratic co-operation in the control and management of land and machinery.

Our campaigns should be educational in the most thorough sense, the comrades recognizing that even the election of Socialists to office is useless except in proportion as the electors appreciate the importance of the measures for which we stand and are willing to support them.

Nothing can be lost by educating the people to an understanding of Socialism and its purposes. Much can be lost by concentrating efforts upon attempts to elect candidates to public office in advance of the development of well-informed and intelligent public sentiment, without which our demands in office would pass unheeded, or our proposed measures would if enacted be left unenforced. Attempts to compel legislation in advance of public sentiment are futile, except in so far as the coincident agitation has educational effect upon the public. It is the educational effect that counts in such cases, and that only.

Let us recognize this fact more frankly and direct our efforts consciously and deliberately along clear-cut educational lines, leaving "politics" for the immediate future at least to our adversaries. "Politics" succeed only in proportion as the voters are blind and misinformed.

Let us devote ourselves to the task of lifting the veil from the voters' eyes and showing them things as they are.

To this end let us apply ourselves assiduously to the task of gathering material, information, facts, and presenting such to the people. Let us, if thought advisable, go as far as to employ, constantly, experienced and able diggers after facts, who shall devote all their time and attention to searching out and collecting concrete and specific evidences of the exploitation of the workers by the masters through appropriation of natural resources and through industrial and political coercion, deception, chicanery and fraud.

Let these diggers be attached particularly to our national headquarters, to supply organizers and lecturers, editors and writers with ever fresh and telling material with which to deluge the country from platform, street corner, newspaper and magazine.

Such information to be used to drive home into the minds of the people, by specific evidence of fact, the reality of the Socialist's charges that the capitalist system reeks, and by its very nature must continue to reek, with all that is destructive and vile, and that the greed, corruption, adulteration, fraud, deceit and ruin, "panics," unemployment, poverty, destitution, sickness, "white plague," vice and crime that flourish on every hand are specifically related to and consequent upon the economic anarchy and exploitation from which the master class draw their unholy unearned "profits."

And just as the national diggers devote themselves chiefly to the larger problems of waste and destruction, checking the progress of the people as a whole, so let local diggers be employed by local organizations of the party, wherever possible, to dig into local problems and expose local conditions that thwart the workers in their several localities in their attempts to realize liberty and enjoy in freedom and peace and decency the products of their toil.

In other words let the representations of Socialism be shown to be real and vital by concrete demonstration and application both locally and nationally, rather than by mere reiteration of theory that tends to weary the people unless its practicable application be made clear.

Let us DEMONSTRATE the real issues of the day and not merely assert them, and be well prepared to fight them out in the interest of justice for all.

Facts that intimately affect men's and women's and children's lives, appeal if clearly shown to thousands to whom theory is at most of but passing interest or concern, LET THE FACTS be worked up and presented with the thoroughness of the highest grade newspaper or magazine story, but presented with simplicity of phrase, and our campaigns will sink deep into the minds of the people and they will more readily respond to our call.

As regards choosing candidates for public offices, let us keep ever in mind the educational needs of our movement, never neglecting opportunities for securing real political advantage, but recognizing that most supposed opportunities for political gain are illusory rather than real, and that our real political opportunities will increase and prove of value only in proportion as our educational propaganda is effective.

The personal popularity of a comrade should count as nothing in such matters. Popularity is no measure or index of either critical or con-

structive ability. Our nominees for political office should be chosen for their powers of penetration and understanding and for their ability to affect wisely and helpfully the reasoning of other men and women, both in governmental positions and in the community at large.

Popularity or sentiment or oratory may sway temporarily the emotions of admirers in a convention hall or elsewhere, but have little effect in modifying the basic traditions of men or in permanently altering their economic relations.

We are unjust to our movement if, craving the exhilaration of some immediate victory we nominate the man or woman who can "get the most votes," instead of him or her whose candidacy would lead the most people to an intelligent interest in and understanding of our principles and aims.

Let us place no reliance upon reputed political sagacity or skill, that might perhaps enable individuals to catch a legislature or a city council unaware and jam through a bill public sentiment would not yet support and that consequently would have no chance of being enforced even if it were to succeed in running the gauntlet of veto power and of legislation to test its "constitutionality." At best attempts to jam through legislations that the majority of the voters would not support, would be undemocratic and contrary to the spirit of the movement.

In conclusion, let us strive ever to keep the character of our campaigns upon the highest possible plane, confining our political speeches and writings to the teaching and advocacy of such principles of Socialism as are universally accepted in our party, and to pointing out their application to the conditions confronting the people; and avoiding public discussion at such times of less important matters concerning which individual Socialists often disagree.

Let us in our campaigns teach the accepted doctrines of Socialism; not the personal theories of individual Socialists that have as yet failed of acceptance by the party.

And let us scrupulously avoid all that savors of mere wrangling or personality; not hesitating to criticise individuals freely and frankly where we must in order to make clear a wrong for which they are responsible; but in an intelligent and fair criticism let us avoid abuse and so far as possible refrain from bitterness; so that all may perceive that our criticism is prompted by no other motive than the desire to promote justice and equity and truth.

Let us establish and maintain such campaign standards as will of themselves win for us the respect of the people and aid us to secure an ever wider hearing for our teachings and ever wider and more earnest support.

A Socialist Guessing Contest.



THE following is a guessing contest used at a Socialist entertainment in Chicago, Ill. We think our readers may like to use it also.

The answers to the questions are the names of Socialists well known to the international movement, in some cases, though most of them are Americans:

1. Who was the scientific revolutionist who signed marks for his name?
2. When it comes to the love of comrades who is victor over all?
3. Who is the woman who always has dates ahead, who gives very little thought to the morrow?
4. What New York Socialist is always frank, speaks his mind freely, and makes no bones about it?
5. Who is the American Socialist who has always been English?
6. Who is the Texas Socialist who always rings true?
7. One Socialist who works overtime?
8. Who is most earnest of them all?
9. Who is always warrin' on the courts?
10. Born a Londoner but lives in California?
11. Flits like a fairy from one good Italian political job to a better?
12. Though his name puts him last, he is the first man in the hearts of the English Social Democracy?
13. There's a babel wherever he speaks?
14. The best known man in Australia?
15. What woman has the largest family in the party?
16. Who is the merriest woman in the movement?
17. Always chasing work at the national office?
18. What Socialist in Alabama is what every man in the party aims to become?
19. A Socialist in Illinois with oodles of brains who is not a high-brower?
20. Atlas carries the world on his shoulders; what Socialist carries Massachusetts?

Answers to questions will be found in the News and Views Department.



The Coming Socialist Campaign. A report of the recent party election will be found in our News and Views Department. It resulted in the choice of three new members, Lena Morrow Lewis of California, George H. Goebel of New Jersey and James F. Carey of Massachusetts. Of the former members Robert Hunter, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit and John Spargo were re-elected. The newly elected members are experienced party workers, and we believe there are good grounds for hoping that the reconstituted committee will devise a plan of campaign that will help put new life into the party. By a referendum vote just closed, the motion of Local Philadelphia to restore the pay of organizers to the old figure of \$3.00 a day is overwhelmingly carried. The motion was opposed by a member of the old N. E. C. on the ground that it would prevent the party from securing the services of members of the more highly paid unions to continue the work inside craft unions to which so large a proportion of the party's income has been devoted for several months. The result of the referendum looks as if many members shared our opinion that this work has proved unproductive and that other methods had better be tried. We, therefore, are glad to call attention to the report by Comrade Stokes, rejected by the old N. E. C. last year, but now first published in this month's REVIEW. Briefly stated, Comrade Stokes' plan is to put some of our energy into gathering concrete evidence showing how American wage-workers are being exploited, injured and degraded by American capitalists, and to use these facts in our propaganda through speeches, books, leaflets, newspapers and magazines. The average wage-worker cares little for theories stated abstractly, but he is quick to join a movement from which he expects to realize a benefit. Let us put our theories into a shape that wage-workers will understand, and we shall grow as never before.

The Appeal to Reason and the Federal Courts. For many weeks the *Appeal to Reason*, edited by Fred D. Warren, Girard, Kansas, has been publishing evidence showing that certain judges of the federal courts are common criminals and should be impeached. It will be remembered that Com-

rade Warren is already under sentence of six months' imprisonment by a federal judge on a trumped-up charge, and that he is out on bail pending an appeal. It might seem foolhardy for him to keep up an aggressive fight under these circumstances, but he has evidently counted the cost. Under the laws of Kansas, no one can be convicted for libel if he proves his charges. Fred Warren has repeatedly challenged the judges to prosecute him for libel if they dare. No prosecutions have been started. But Judge Peter S. Grosscup has announced through the daily press that owing to the state of his health he will shortly sail from New York for Egypt to take a much needed rest. And just as we go to press word comes that Judge John F. Phillips of Missouri will retire "voluntarily" from the bench on June 25. Meanwhile the *Appeal* is demanding the impeachment of Judges Grosscup and Pollock, and other papers are beginning to call for a public investigation of the charges. The *Appeal* is thus doing an educational work for millions of people, the effect of which can hardly be over-estimated. One chief obstacle to our propaganda in America has always been a blind belief that the law courts exist for the purpose of administering justice to all. The disclosures of Gustavus Myers in his *History of the Great American Fortunes* afford ground for a reasonable doubt whether this was ever true at all. The mass of new evidence which the *Appeal to Reason* is rolling up from week to week should make even the dullest reader see that the federal courts today are simply a machine used by the big capitalists to plunder the little ones and to keep the wage-workers duly submissive. The plundering of the small capitalists will go merrily on. It is well for the life of the future that it should not stop. They have been and still are the most effective bulwark of the profit system, and by crushing them, the big capitalists are shortening their own period of rule. Great changes are coming in the near future, and the *Appeal to Reason* is likely to be no small factor in helping them on. Fred Warren is a clear-headed Socialist editor who has "a nose for news," and he is making a paper that no reader of the REVIEW can afford to miss. If by any chance you are not already on the *Appeal's* mailing list, send fifty cents to Girard for a year's subscription, and ask to have it start if possible with the first of the federal court exposures.

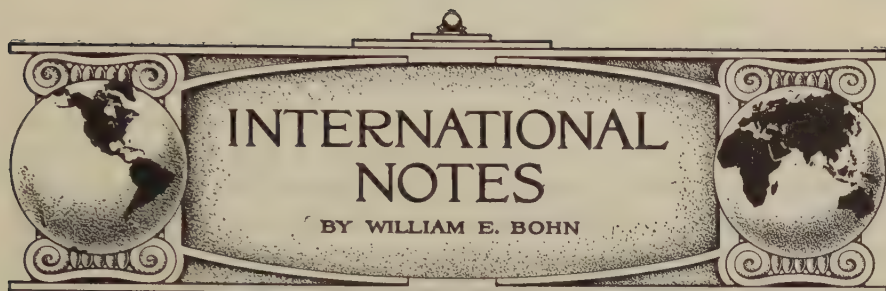
A Danger for the Socialist Press. The United States has had a postal deficit for forty years or more, but President Taft has lately discovered the fact and come forward with a remedy. He does not propose that the postoffice take up the profitable express business on which hundreds of millions of profit have been made. He does not propose that the United States own its own postal cars and stop paying their value every year in rent. He does not even propose that the railroads be compelled to give the government as favorable rates as they give the express

companies. His idea is that the postage rates on periodicals should be increased. Not all periodicals. The country weeklies are carried free of any charge whatever within their own counties. Mr. Taft does not object. These weeklies and the city dailies deserve all the encouragement they get from the present law, in Mr. Taft's opinion. They help keep people contented. But some of the big magazines, with their "muck rakes," have seriously offended the interests that control the President, and all efforts of the administration to suppress the *Appeal to Reason* have thus far failed. Here in the postal deficit Mr. Taft finds a chance to punish his enemies. So he recommends raising the postage on periodicals that circulate away from home to four or five cents a pound instead of a cent a pound as at present. If this measure becomes a law it will be a serious blow to the whole Socialist press. We are not yet strong enough to cover the country with local papers, but must depend for our propaganda on a wide circulation for a few periodicals. The proposed postal rate would make higher subscription rates necessary and thus reduce the number of our readers. Fortunately the capitalists of the country are by no means unanimous for the change. It would cut deeply into the profits of paper-makers and all capitalists who have investments in the various branches of the printing trade. So it will not go through Congress without a struggle. It may help if you take the trouble to write the congressman in your district, asking him to oppose the increase. Say nothing to him about Socialism, but tell him you don't want to pay more for your magazines. The cheap postal rate helps educate the people. We must keep it if we can.

The Republican Insurgents. The greatest political sensation that America has known for years has lately been sprung by the *Chicago Tribune*. It has taken a poll of the Republican and Independent editors of the central northern states. By decisive majorities they answer that they are opposed to the continuance of Cannon as speaker of the house, that they are opposed to the re-election of Taft, a plurality preferring Roosevelt, and that they condemn the Cannon-Aldrich tariff. Editors proverbially take their opinions from the merchants who pay the advertising bills, and the *Tribune's* poll reflects an abrupt change of front on the part of the "business interests" of the west. For a whole generation the trust magnates have controlled the United States government without any effective opposition. They have built up a tariff system now nearly fifty years old, which always has enabled and still enables American capitalists to charge their fellow-citizens higher prices for nearly all commodities than prevail in the world market. All this has made no particular difference to the wage-workers. They have for the most part received in

wages the value of their labor power, represented of course by a higher money wage than prevails in other countries. But in the last decade a new thing has happened. The value of gold, as explained in our leading article this month, has sharply declined. Thus the "cost of living" has sharply increased, and wages have not yet increased correspondingly. This affects not only the wage-workers, who while divided have little political importance, but also the shopkeepers from whom they buy their supplies. The pressure was already beginning to be felt two years ago, and in response to a general demand the Republicans inserted into their platform a pledge for tariff revision. They kept their promise and revised the tariff, only they revised it up instead of down, as far as articles of popular consumption are concerned. The old-party wage-workers are still dumb, but the shopkeepers, at least those within a thousand miles of Chicago, seem to have waked up, and to have communicated some of their new-found energy to the country editors. It looks as if Roosevelt might be welcomed back from Africa as the savior of his country. He may even be re-elected by a party of insurgents on a radical platform. If so, his struggles against the real rulers of the United States will be amusing. Meanwhile, whatever dims the faith of the voters in old party names and starts them thinking is a gain. If the wage-workers ever begin to think, it will not take them long to discover that they can dispense with the capitalists. Incidentally, the *Tribune's* move diminishes the danger of a Gompers party.





ENGLAND. The Election. The votes have been counted at last. After months of frenzied electioneering, after a wild confusion of meetings, speeches and editorial argument, the results can finally be checked up. And what is the upshot of it all? What have the Liberals and Laborites gained by their policy? In the mathematical form the tale is a short one: Liberals 276, Tories 275, Nationalists 81 and Laborites 41. That is, the Laborites have lost a half-dozen seats and the majority of Liberals, exclusive of Laborites and Nationalists, has fallen from 205 to practically nothing.

On the face of it the result seems preposterous. The reform budget and the Anti-Lords campaign were supposed to be popular. Certainly the Liberals took them up with no other purpose than to save themselves before the country. And the Laborites? Those measures to which they gave their support were not socialist measures. The Labor members of Parliament rallied to them for tactical purposes. And here we have the outcome. Both Liberals and Laborites lost so tremendously that the Nationalists have them at their mercy. A strange conclusion to a campaign aimed solely at achieving popularity. An examination of the issues at stake, however, makes the new turn of events appear the natural one.

It is with some hesitation that I write about the political affairs of a country so unlike any other as England. Socialists should be especially wary about criticizing the tactics of foreign comrades. In a recent issue of *Justice* Comrade Hyndman makes protest, justly it seems to me, against continental comments on the campaign just closed. The capitalists of other countries always seem more liberal, more socialistic, than those we ourselves are fighting. More than this, we are constantly under temptation to interpret foreign events in favor of the policy to which we have committed ourselves at home. The greater part of our international criticism falls wide of the mark.

But after all necessary deductions are made, it seems to me that an examination of recent events in England makes one thing fairly

clear. The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage. I record this fact reluctantly. More than once in this Department of the REVIEW I have expressed the conviction that in some essential respects the Labor Party, or at any rate the Independent Labor Party, comes nearer to representing the position of the International Socialist Movement than any other organization in England. In its attitude toward militarism, for example, it has been consistently right, while the leading members of the Social-Democratic Party have been consistently wrong. Furthermore, it has seemed to me to represent a real working-class movement, slow, comparatively conservative, but at least moving in the right direction. And I have more faith in a large body of workers who are nearly right than in a small body of agitators who are entirely so. The workingmen are in the daily class-struggle and they will learn. On the other hand, the agitators are in grave danger of isolation. I had almost written insulation. For example, a leading socialist opponent of the Independent Labor Party said quite recently in the *Clarion* that he was right eighteen years ago and had been right ever since. Another comrade, one of the best fighters of them all, writes in *Justice*: "It is necessary that we press on more vigorously than ever to educate this extremely *backward* and *benighted* British proletariat." Because the Social-Democratic Party is largely animated by the feeling which finds expression in this sentence I have been inclined to look to the Independent Labor Party for the crystallization of the English Labor Movement.

So it is with the greatest reluctance that I have been forced to conclude that the Labor Party, under the leadership of the I. L. P. men, has sold its birthright. This conclusion is not the result of the election but of the course of events that led up to it. If the Laborites had increased their representation in Parliament, they would be little better off than they are. As things stand, the number of members who can write M. P. after their names has little significance for the working-class.

The fact of the matter is that the Laborites have committed the supreme political blunder; they have gone into a campaign without an issue. The Liberal budget has been twice discussed in this department. Readers of the REVIEW will recall that while it provided for the raising of certain revenues from the land-holding class, it provided for the raising of greater amounts by indirect taxation, which would naturally fall directly on the working-class. And of the great sum to be raised only a small part was to go for education and old-age pensions; the rest was to provide for increased armaments. This

budget, "socialistic" or not, furnished an issue for the Liberals. If it had been popular, the Liberals should have won a definite victory. But in Parliament the Laborites had done little more than support liberal measures and in the public mind they stood merely for the budget just as did the Liberals. Under these circumstances, electors who favored the budget naturally preferred to vote for Liberals. In almost every case in which a Labor candidate faced a Liberal he went down to defeat. The workers could see little advantage in the fact that he somehow, indefinitely, represented labor and, if elected, would have to be supported by funds collected from the working-class.

Lack of an issue brought on defeat, but in case of success at the polls it would just as certainly have brought on ultimate disillusionment and disappointment. Ultimately the working-class will demand revolutionary expression. It will spurn a party without an issue. This, it seems to me, is the heart of the whole matter. The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the chance at a mess of pottage and the chance has turned out to be a poor one.

As for the Tories, their gains seem to have been made on the tariff issue. In the manufacturing districts the workers have been promised prosperity if they will give the Conservatives a chance to pass a new tariff law. With pictures of the prosperous protected American workingmen before their eyes, thousands of English proletarians voted for Toryism and protection. The Laborites suffered, no doubt, from their free-trade policy.

The honors of the campaign really belong to the Social Democratic Party and two or three comrades who have fought a straight fight for socialism either independently or under the Labor Party. Altogether there were about a dozen who stood as socialists. The smallness of the number was due, of course, to the great expense of presenting a candidate for the English Parliament. Together these comrades polled something over 24,000 votes. In most cases their polls were smaller than those of socialist candidates standing in the corresponding constituencies in 1906, but they fought a good fight and take defeat in the best possible spirit. Hyndman and Victor Grayson, of course, attracted the most attention. The friends of the former confidently expected to send the old war-horse of English socialism to the House of Commons; and Grayson, too, with the memory of his victory at the comparatively recent bye-election still fresh, certainly expected to retain the seat for the Colne Valley. After it was all over he wrote: "We were defeated, but we are not downhearted. We kept our ideal to the front and our banner free from

stain." And this expresses the spirit of the entire group which he represents.

One feature of the situation in England is very striking to an outsider. The English electoral system is one of the most antiquated, one of the most flagrantly unjust, in the world. The candidates have to pay the expenses of the election. Therefore, it costs some \$2,500 even to put one candidate for Parliament in nomination. It is at tremendous sacrifice that the Labor Party runs 80 candidates and the Social Democratic Party a dozen when more than 600 members are to be elected. More than this, the distribution of seats is so uneven that whereas in one district 3,000 voters may be represented by one member, in a neighboring district 10,000 must content themselves with the same representative. Furthermore, England has not even manhood suffrage; only adult men having a certain income or paying a certain minimum rent have a ballot. On the other hand, landlords have votes in all the constituencies in which they own property. This furnishes an easy method of colonizing voters. The strange thing is that there is so little protest against this monstrous electoral system even on the part of socialists. Here and there a feeble protest is raised, but electoral reform is never made an issue. It has been pointed out over and over again that with a modern system of representation, not to mention the proportional plan, the chances of socialist success would be immensely improved. On the continent the socialist parties have often made this matter an issue. In every case they have forced the bourgeois forces to line up definitely in opposition. One nation after another has thus been stirred up, and from every point of view the socialist gains have been great. Why this apparent indifference to electoral misrepresentation in England?

AUSTRALIA. Strike Suppression by Law. The official reconciliation of capital and labor, in which the function of government seems to be to tie the hands of labor, has borne amazing fruit in the Australian coal strike. In December thirteen members of the Miners' Board of Delegates had been sentenced under the Industrial Disputes Act, to fines of \$500 each, and five of their other officials were awaiting trial. But the men sentenced refused to pay their fines, and the indicted officials, out on bail, were urging the men to stand firm. It was evident to the government and the employers that the strike could not be broken by arresting the leaders. Unhesitatingly the government took the next step, the suppression of all union activity. In one day it rushed through the parliament of New South Wales

an amendment to the Industrial Disputes Act which was, in fact, a strike suppression act. This remarkable piece of legislation is based on the assumption that producers of the necessities of life have no right to try to improve their conditions in any way which may cause a stoppage of production. The "necessary commodities of life" are defined as coal, gas, water and "food the deprivation of which may tend to endanger human life or cause serious bodily injury." Any man who by speeches, deeds or writing instigates or aids in the stoppage of the production or distribution of these commodities is liable to twelve months' imprisonment. It is an attempt to revive the principle on which ancient civilization was based; the necessary work must be done by slaves who cannot rebel.

The provisions for the enforcement of the act give irresponsible power to the police, invade the property rights of the unions and threaten the rights of free speech and free assemblage. Anyone taking part in a strike meeting is liable to twelve months' imprisonment. Any sergeant of police may break into the rooms of a union and seize any documents "which he reasonably suspects to relate to any lock-out or strike."

The legal machinery was set in motion by the appointment of a Wages Board for the Newcastle district, a board with power to settle the dispute, and by the issuing of a new summons to the leaders of the miners.

The well-directed and uncompromising activity of the capitalist-controlled government was not met by equally united and determined action on the part of the strikers. Almost from the beginning of the strike the radical and conservative elements, and especially their leaders, pulled together with some difficulty in the Strike Congress. Peter Bowling, socialist and industrial unionist, President of the Northern Miners, favored such an extension of the strike to the allied industries as should force the employers to terms. William Hughes, ex-attorney general of the Commonwealth, ex-member of Parliament, President of the Waterside Workers, aimed at securing a conference with the employers through political and diplomatic means and wished to restrict the strike to the miners. To sustain the strike fund, Peter Bowling made arrangements with the owners of two mines to have them run by the union miners on shares. The capitalist press spoke gently of Mr. Hughes, but damned Peter Bowling as an agitator.

After Peter Bowling's arrest the differences between the two leaders became public and led to disputes on platforms and in the press. Moreover, Mr. Bowling opposed Mr. Patterson, President

of the Coal and Shale Workers, and protested against his acceptance of a seat on the government's Wages Board.

The disagreements of the leaders and the fear of the enforcement of the new strike act brought about the dissolution of the Strike Congress. A new body, consisting of the Northern and Southern Miners and some of the Coal Lumpers and Waterside Workers, was formed under the leadership of Peter Bowling. The Western Miners had gone back to work under the advice of the former Strike Congress.

The last newspapers received from Australia show a situation almost desperate for the strikers, although the strike was unbroken in the northern and southern districts and about 13,000 men were still out. The unions dared not publish accounts of their contributions to the strike funds, and union meetings were invaded by the police. The government was importing 50,000 tons of foreign coal and had appropriated at its own price most of the output of the two union mines. The Labor Party in Parliament, after urging the nationalization of the mines and protesting against the Strike Act, seemed powerless. Most of all, the strikers are not united on the tactics to be used in breaking through the wall which the government has built around them. The telegraph news of January 27th that Peter Bowling had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment at hard labor and the other leaders to eight months, was not unexpected.

It is a great battle that is being fought out in Australia between the ranks of labor and the combined forces of capital and government. All the old pleas of public interest and the rights of the consumer are being used; legal persecution such as English labor knew in the eighteenth century has been revived—and the workers have so far just one weapon to use, persistent refusal to resume work.

GERMANY. The Government and Electoral Reform. The fight for electoral reform grows ever hotter. On February 13th there was cabled to this country news of a great popular uprising and of brutal repressive measures resorted to by the government. This clash resulted from the open flouting of the people by the Kaiser and his majority. When the Reichstag met on January 11th the members were given to understand that the government's proposal for electoral reform would be presented within a few weeks. But no hint was allowed to leak out as to the nature of the proposal. Meantime a certain Herr Von Oldenburg, a Junker, declared before the Reichstag that the Kaiser was always at liberty to send a company of troops to disperse the national assembly. Finally, on February 4th, after

excitement had reached fever heat the electoral "reform" bill was introduced. What was the popular astonishment when it was found that this measure provided for the retention of the old three-class voting system! In only one important respect was this to be modified: officers, government officials and, in general, the educated classes were to be placed in the first or second class irrespective of the amount of their taxes. Evidently the intent of the law was to make the government even more secure than hitherto. Realization of this fact inspired the tremendous demonstration which was held on February 13th. Prussia is aroused as it has not been for twenty years. The Chancellor, Von Bethmann-Holweg, declares openly that the government will not allow itself to be influenced by popular feeling. What the immediate outcome will be it is impossible to tell.

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WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

It was a foregone conclusion that the United Hatters would be mulcted by the United States District Court of Connecticut after the decision was rendered in this famous case by the United States Supreme Court, exactly two years ago, pronouncing the boycott unlawful. But it was not generally believed that the damages would be so high. The award of \$74,000 by the jury, which, multiplied by three under the Sherman anti-trust law, actually amounts to \$222,000 and costs, probably bringing the total cost to the hatters up to \$300,000, sort of dazed those who believed that only a nominal fine would be imposed.

It is announced that the attorneys for the hatters will appeal the case, claiming that the award is excessive, but under the circumstances it is difficult to understand how the hatters can hope for any favorable ruling in the superior courts. It looks like pouring money into a rat-hole. The courts are thoroughly capitalistic, whether the hatters are aware of that fact or not, and they will quite likely follow the jury that has spoken.

Of course, if in this country the workers had a political movement strong enough to threaten the overthrow of the capitalistic courts the latter might make concessions, but unfortunately we have too many hidebound Republicans and Democrats in labor's ranks who pooh-pooh the efforts of the Socialists to revolutionize the courts and the laws, and so the hatters will have to carry their burdens.

The great strike of the shirtwaist makers in New York is virtually won, and just at present the women are busily engaged in solidifying their ranks and spreading the gospel of unionism among members of their sex in other branches of the clothing trades. It is not improbable that there will be more big strikes along in the spring, for the working women appears to have caught the spirit of militancy and revolt against the shameless conditions under which they are compelled to work.

There is one phase of this contest in which nearly 30,000 workers were engaged that deserves attention. As an aftermath a studied attempt is being made to discredit the splendid work of the Socialist women throughout the struggle. The very eminently respectable ladies, or faddists, who butted into the strike, and some others who consider it a great privilege to win the smiles and friendships of social queens, and all of whom advocated compromises that would virtually have meant surrender, are turning up their lovely noses at the Reds and saying things that are unwarranted.

The truth of the matter is that the Socialist women were always "Johnny on the spot" when work was to be done. While the ladies of the boudoir were sipping tea and receiving the members of their set, the Socialist women were out on the firing line, organizing, picketing, raising funds and doing a hundred and one practical things to help the fighting girls, and, therefore, it comes with poor grace from the rich personages, who subsist upon privileges and profits wrung from the working class, as well as their hangers-on, to make cutting remarks about the brave and large-hearted Socialist women.

The prediction made in the REVIEW some months ago that the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners would merge into one great organization is being verified. Another long stride to bring about amalgamation has been taken, as those who have followed the daily Socialist press may have noted. The United Mine Workers' convention at Indianapolis last month, after listening to eloquent speeches delivered by a delegation from the W. F. of M., elected a committee to meet with the stalwart Westerners, with the result that a series of recommendations were brought in providing for an interchange of working cards, co-operation in organizing the non-union miners, that the W. F. of M. should apply for affiliation with the A. F. of L., and that both organizations then maintain their juris-

dictions and form an industrial department in the Federation for offensive and defensive purposes. This accomplished, final amalgamation will not be long postponed.

Many of the delegates at the Indianapolis convention complained that the joint recommendation did not go far enough, but the experienced men in both organizations pointed out that many details had to be worked out carefully in order to avoid friction and possible misunderstandings, and so the report was adopted without much opposition. It is noteworthy that the Socialists in both organizations have been in the forefront in furthering this amalgamation plan, thus once more giving the lie to those who ignorantly or maliciously charge the Reds with favoring disruption and segregation. Moreover, the election held in the United Mine Workers recently, as well as the temper of the Indianapolis convention, demonstrate the fact that the great mass of coal miners, like their brothers in the metal-liferous mines, are becoming thoroughly class-conscious, politically and industrially.

Socialist speakers and organizers who have traveled about in the mining regions, east and west, declare, almost without exception, that the miners will lead the vanguard of the American labor movement. As a class, they are a big-hearted, broad-minded, sympathetic and generous people. Their occupation keeps them united naturally, scabs and unionists cannot work together and live as neighbors, and so they suffer or prosper in communities—mostly suffer. Consequently they keep fairly well posted of what is transpiring in the outer world and learn how their material interests are affected by the gradual encroachment of capitalism.

A big, black cloud that is looming up on the horizon of the coal miners is causing considerable concern and probably doing much to influence them to prepare their ship for action in the future. The United States Steel Corporation has acquired 350,000 acres of coal land and is reaching out for more. Everybody knows that the pirates in control of that trust are the foes of organized labor, and hence the miners are wise in preparing for a struggle to the finish.

Like a famous poet's brook, the strike of the tinplate workers is going on and

on and on. The appeal for funds for the men on the firing line is being responded to quite liberally and the indications are that the battle between men and money will continue for many months to come. Every effort is being made by a corps of organizers to break into the mills controlled by the United States Steel Corporation and the laborites are said to be meeting with some success. The plan is to organize the workers secretly in order to circumvent the paid hirelings of the combine, and no worker who joins the union is to learn the identity of other members until the time is ripe.

While it is true that this plan has been announced from the housetops by some organizers who delight to see their names in the papers and the trust magnates are notified, in a measure, what they must expect, still the exploited and enslaved workers are also made aware of what is coming, and if they hope for deliverance their spirits will be revived, provided that the organizers make good in practical work as well as talk.

That the trust magnates are considerably disturbed cannot be denied. Their publicity agents are kept busy puffing prosperity and peddling watered stock to the unsophisticated workers that they are attempting to ensnare. Meanwhile the class war continues.

There is now every indication that a national strike of bituminous miners will take place this year. It is true that the officers of the U. M. W. and some of the mine-owners are giving out interviews that are optimistic in tone, and at the same time the unionists are working like beavers to strengthen their lines and the operators are, in many instances, stocking up coal to be in a position to profit when the shut-down comes.

To an onlooker it is almost impossible to understand how a suspension can be avoided. Owing to unsteady employment and the high cost of living the miners are in no mood to listen to the talk of the operators about a reduction in the first place, and, in the second place, the temper of the Indianapolis convention was so pronounced in favor of an advance that no officer would have the hardihood to recommend a compromise on anything short of a 15 per cent raise in wages.

The strongest point that the operators make is that they are in competition with the cheap scab coal of West Virginia, that famous or infamous wage-slave state controlled by Republican and Democratic politicians. But some of the very operators who own union mines in Ohio and other states also control non-union mines in West Virginia and Pennsylvania. It would come with better grace from them if they lent a hand to organize the scab districts instead of opposing every effort to better the conditions of labor.

Follow the tortuous movement of the tobacco trust, for a change. It gobbles up plantations in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines and enslaves labor; it absorbs fields in Connecticut and Kentucky and creates "night-riders," who fight for existence in truly frontier style; it purchases or bankrupts manufactories that transform the raw material into commodities, and virtually drives the union of tobacco workers off the earth; it raises prices to independent cigar manufacturers and weakens their competitive abilities, and then establishes a chain of cigar stores throughout the country and cuts prices; it employs women and children and machinery to overcome the skilled union cigarmaker in the competitive field and almost gives away its goods in strong union districts in order to monopolize the trade; and now the tobacco trust is making a serious attempt to close out independent retail dealers by absorbing the stands in drug stores, groceries, saloons, candy stores and even barber shops. Where the trust is unable to secure a stand in a good business locality it sets up a drug store, grocery or barber shop of its own and beats down prices for the time being to secure patronage.

This is the logical policy of the trust. Its surplus profits must be invested and it is investing them. Still there are a few great labor leaders, so-called, who really talk of "smashing the trusts"—when they are not busy talking about "smashing socialism." Really, now, wouldn't it make a horse laugh?

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NEWS & VIEWS

PARTIAL VICTORY AT LUDLOW.
Announcement was made Feb. 6th in a meeting of the Central Labor union that a complete understanding on the wage scale question had been reached between the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates and their 1,700 employes who struck in September because of a cut in wages.

The wage scale on which the State Board of Arbitration has been at work since the strikers returned to work has been settled by the acceptance by the strikers of a proposition from the associates.

The strike of the Polish employes, now at an end, is regarded as one of the greatest battles between labor and capital which has occurred in some time, not only because of the element of paternalism in it, but also because of the principles involved in the strike.

The conflict began early in September, when creel boys left the mills because of a cut in wages. On the 12th, because of a notice lowering the price given the weavers, the creel boys were joined by the weavers in No. 8 mill. At that time

the company cut the price for a 100 yards of bagging from 24 to 20 cents a roll, the cut going into effect on the 13th.

From that point the strike gradually involved more and more employes until at one time between 2,500 and 2,800 were out of the mills.

On two occasions the company evicted strikers from their houses, ostensibly to provide accommodations for new employes and by both eviction processes fully 400 strikers were thrown out into the street at a time when the weather was bitterly cold.

Gov. Eben S. Draper and the State Board of Arbitration were then called in to effect a settlement. After some delay the state board announced that all difficulties were at an end and the striking employes, then numbering about 1,700, returned to work, only to walk out again after an hour's labor because of alleged misuse by overseers in the mills.

Through the most intense periods of the strike both the company and town employed large forces of Pinkerton de-



EVICTED FROM COMPANY HOUSES; THEY FINALLY WON.

tectives and special deputies, and the cost to both has been very great. Finally, after further effort by the state board the strikers in a massmeeting Sunday, December 19, voted to return to work at the cut wage pending arbitration of that question by the state board, and in lots of 300 daily for a week they re-entered the mills.

The union into which the strikers were formed is already strong and has on hand a fund of over \$2,000 in case any further trouble arises.

THE BEST SUNDAY PAPER. Every Socialist who has seen a copy of the (New York) Sunday Call is telling his friends that it is the best Sunday paper in the world. We can go one step further and say we have never read a newspaper that gives so much good material in a single issue. The Magazine Section alone is a treat to every lover of good literature, and the translation of French, German and Russian classics appearing every Sunday are worth many times the cost of the paper.

Comrade Robert La Monte, the editor of the Sunday Call, deserves our hearty congratulations on the splendid band of contributors he has organized to help build up the paper. Those of us who know Comrade La Monte know that he

wishes first, last and always to spend his energies toward the abolition of the wage system. The Sunday Call is giving the Socialists of America greater opportunities toward that end.

If you are not a subscriber send 5c to 442 Pearl street, New York, N. Y., for a sample copy. The subscription price of the Sunday Call is \$2.00 year. We offer a combination rate of the Review and the Sunday Call one year for \$2.00. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie street, Chicago, Ill.

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EVICTED.

SOCIALIST PARTY ELECTION. The recent election of a National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party resulted in the election of Robert Hunter, Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, Lena Morrow Lewis, George H. Goebel and James F. Carey. The vote was on the preferential plan, as explained on page 46 of the REVIEW for January. The names on each ballot were numbered by the voter in the order of his preference, the seven candidates receiving the lowest total numbers being elected.

Many ballots were thrown out on account of errors, including the vote of several entire states, and others came in too late to be included in the official totals. These as given by the National Secretary were as follows:

1. Hunter	115,567
2. Berger	122,752
3. Hillquit	126,382
4. Spargo	126,937
5. Lewis	129,312
6. Goebel	129,615
7. Carey	135,556
8. Thompson	137,091
9. Berlyn	138,521
10. Brower	139,488
11. Collins	141,313
12. Slayton	142,323
13. Maurer	144,547
14. Germer	145,079
15. Branstetter	146,089
16. Simons	146,105
17. Duchez	148,303
18. Work	152,167
19. Clark	157,721
20. Strickland	158,930
21. Carr	161,225
22. Snyder	163,282
23. Morgan	167,985
24. McDevitt	168,968
25. Kaplan	172,404
26. Rose	178,371
27. Bell	187,331

Total 3,983,364

We add a report of the order of preference expressed for candidates by the several states, including in this report all but those casting a very small vote.

Preference of States.

California, 709 votes. 1, McDevitt; 2, Duchez; 3, Branstetter; 4, Lewis; 5, Brower; 6, Slayton; 7, Carey; 21, Thompson; 22, Carr; 23, Strickland; 24, Hillquit; 25, Berger; 26, Morgan; 27, Simons.

Connecticut, 223 votes. 1, Hunter; 2,

Berger; 3, Maurer; 4, Hillquit; 5, Carey; 6, Spargo; 7, Clark; 21, Snyder; 22, McDevitt; 23, Germer; 24, Morgan; 25, Strickland; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Illinois, 859 votes. 1, Berger; 2, Berlyn; 3, Hunter; 4, Collins; 5, Germer; 6, Spargo; 7, Simons; 21, Maurer; 22, Carr; 23, Snyder; 24, Clark; 25, McDevitt; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Indiana, 295 votes. 1, Strickland; 2, Collins; 3, Carey; 4, Goebel; 5, Slayton; 6, Germer; 7, Hunter; 21, Work; 22, Kaplan; 23, Bell; 24, Rose; 25, McDevitt; 26, Clark; 27,

Iowa, 234 votes. 1, Work; 2, Lewis; 3, Hunter; 4, Goebel; 5, Slayton; 6, Berlyn; 7, Spargo; 21, Morgan; 22, Simons; 23, Carr; 24, McDevitt; 25, Clark; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Kansas, 306 votes. 1, Snyder; 2, Lewis; 3, Branstetter; 4, Hunter; 5, Thompson; 6, Spargo; 7, Berger; 21, Kaplan; 22, Strickland; 23, McDevitt; 24, Slayton; 25, Rose; 26, Morgan; 27, Bell.

Massachusetts, 299 votes. 1, Carey; 2, Hillquit; 3, Hunter; 4, Spargo; 5, Simons; 6, Goebel; 7, Lewis; 21, McDevitt; 22, Maurer; 23, Snyder; 24, Branstetter; 25, Strickland; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Minnesota, 481 votes. 1, Berger; 2, Thompson; 3, Simons; 4, Hillquit; 5, Hunter; 6, Goebel; 7, Spargo; 21, Branstetter; 22, Maurer; 23, Duchez; 24, Slayton; 25, Morgan; 26, McDevitt; 27, Bell.

Missouri, 405 votes. 1, Hunter; 2, Berger; 3, Lewis; 4, Germer; 5, Carey; 6, Hillquit; 7, Goebel; 21, Carr; 22, Maurer; 23, Morgan; 24, Rose; 25, McDevitt; 26, Bell; 27, Kaplan.

New York, 1,160 votes. 1, Hillquit; 2, Hunter; 3, Spargo; 4, Berger; 5, Carey; 6, Goebel; 7, Lewis; 21, Kaplan; 22, Branstetter; 23, McDevitt; 24, Strickland; 25, Snyder; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Ohio, 653 votes. 1, Slayton; 2, Carey; 3, Collins; 4, Duchez; 5, Lewis; 6, Berlyn; 7, Spargo; 21, Carr; 22, McDevitt; 23, Morgan; 24, Rose; 25, Clark; 26, Kaplan; 27, Bell.

Oregon, 381 votes. 1, Duchez; 2, McDevitt; 3, Maurer; 4, Brower; 5, Slayton; 6, Lewis; 7, Carey; 21, Strickland; 22, Hunter; 23, Hillquit; 24, Spargo; 25, Work; 26, Berger; 27, Simons.

Pennsylvania, 885 votes. 1, Maurer; 2, Slayton; 3, Lewis; 4, Spargo; 5, Hunter; 6, Hillquit; 7, Duchez; 21, McDevitt; 22, Simons; 23, Strickland; 24, Morgan;

25, Thompson; 26, Rose; 27, Bell.

Texas, 368 votes. 1, Lewis; 2, Bell; 3, Branstetter; 4, Brower; 5, Carey; 6, Goebel; 7, Germer; 21, Work; 22, Thompson; 23, Spargo; 24, McDevitt; 25, Hillquit; 26, Kaplan; 27, Simons.

Washington, 255 votes. 1, Brower; 2, Duchez; 3, Collins; 4, Carey; 5, Goebel; 6, Germer; 7, Slayton; 21, Kaplan; 22, Berger; 23, Work; 24, Rose; 25, Strickland; 26, Bell; 27, Morgan.

Wisconsin, 1,034 votes. 1, Berger; 2, Thompson; 3, Simons; 4, Hunter; 5, Hillquit; 6, Goebel; 7, Spargo; 20, Branstetter; 21, Lewis; 22, Brower; 23, Kaplan; 24, Duchez; 25, McDevitt; 26, Bell; 27, Carey.

THE HARP IN IRELAND—We are informed that the Harp, the journal edited by Comrade James Connolly, has been transferred to Dublin, Ireland, and will be published from there commencing January, 1910. It is hoped and believed that this change of location will be beneficial to the movement in both countries. American comrades will learn at first hand of the revolutionary movement in Europe, and Irish comrades will be kept in touch with Socialist development in America. The subscription price will remain at 50 cents per year.

The January issue among other things will contain a statement of the position of the great Irish agitator, Daniel O'Connell, towards the Labor movement in Ireland—a statement of facts suppressed for 70 years by the middle class historians of Ireland. Every one should read it.

Comrade Connolly has undertaken the entire responsibility for the production of the paper and asks us to appeal to all friends and comrades for help in bearing the financial end of the burden. Letters should be addressed and money orders made payable to Nora Connolly, 436 East 155th street, New York. All Socialist papers please copy.

ANSWERS TO GUESSING CONTEST.

1, Karl Marx; 2, Eugene Victor Debs; 3, Lena Morrow Lewis; 4, Frank Bohn; 5, William English Walling; 6, Secretary Bell; 7, John M. Work; 8, Ernest Untermann; 9, Fred D. Warren; 10, Jack London; 11, Enrico Ferri; 12, H. M. Hyndman; 13, August Bebel; 14, Tom Mann; 15, Mother Jones; 16, Mary E. Marcy; 17, John C. Chase; 18, Fred Freeman; 19, James H. Brower; 20, James F. Carey. (See page 838.)

THE PRIMERO EXPLOSION. The following resolutions, passed by Trinidad Miners' Union No. 198, Western Federation of Miners, deserve a wide reading:

WHEREAS, The explosion in the Primero Mine, which killed about 100 workmen, can be charged with certainty to criminal neglect and incompetency of the State Mine Inspector, Jones; the Superintendent, Kilpatrick; the Mine Boss, Williams, and the management of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company;

WHEREAS, Colorado's state, county and village officers are in office only to protect the interests of the great corporations;

WHEREAS, No independent coroner's jury can be found in Las Animas county;

WHEREAS, From about 60 mines in Las Animas and Huerfano counties, employing more than 8,000 men, mostly foreigners, not one is safe, most are nearly as rotten as Primero Mine, No. 4;

Resolved, We demand:

(1) From the Governor of Colorado, to remove immediately the State Mine Inspector, Jones, and to appoint a practical miner in his place, taken from the rank and file of organized labor; to order immediately an investigation of the different mines in Las Animas and Huerfano counties; all unsafe mines shall be closed.

To remove immediately the Coroner of Las Animas county from his office and to appoint an honest and independent man in his place; or, if not possible, to appoint a special committee, consisting of practical miners taken from outside of Las Animas county; this committee shall investigate the Primero Mine, give every person a right to testify before it, and shall have power to try the guilty persons for murder.

To make a member of Local Trinidad, Western Federation of Miners, Special State Mine Inspector for Las Animas and Huerfano counties; his wages shall be paid by Local Trinidad, W. F. of M.

To force the proper authorities to grant a permit to our organization which gives our organization a right to visit the different mining camps without being in fear of being crippled or murdered. To appoint a sanitary committee to investigate the privately owned Model Villages and Model Houses, and which shall stop the mass murder of little babies.

(2) From the governments and the parliaments of Austria, Italy, Germany, Korea, Japan, Greece, Montenegro and other countries, whose children are always danger, the sons of being mur-

dered or crippled, the daughters of being dishonored; to investigate jointly the foul and rotten condition in Southern Colorado; to warn their children not to work in this part of Colorado; to take measures which will compel the authorities of Colorado to enforce the Labor Laws, to prohibit the Truck System, and to make a Dollar 100 cents instead of 90.

A printed copy of this resolution, together with a report from the minutes of our last meeting, shall be sent to the Governor of Colorado, to the above-named foreign governments, their parliaments, and Socialist Kongress Fraktion, to the Miners Magazine, the United Mine Workers' Journal, the Socialist Press, and the Austrian-American Society in Chicago.

ROBERT UHLICH,
MIKE GUCKI,
HONZA TRIV,
A. D. DANDA,
Committee.

COMRADE M. W. WILKINS. To many who know him and had learned to prize his counsel in the affairs of the party, the news of the death of Comrade M. W. Wilkins will be sad news. No better testimony could be offered of the party's appreciation of his service, than his repeated recall for additional work where he had labored as speaker and organizer. Having the courage of his convictions, he ever stood firm—never swerving from what he thought was right.

Of an active, studious and inquiring mind, he took an interest in public and political questions when but a young man. While working in the mines, he took an active part in labor troubles; the first of any consequence being in the early '80's when he was a leader in the Knights of Labor movement in Des Moines, Iowa. It was at this time, and during the strikes in the mines, that he learned of his own ability and power as a speaker and organizer; then it was he felt it his duty to devote his life—as lecturer, editor and organizer—to the cause of labor. At the time of that strike in Iowa he was a Republican, yet a firm believer in the rights of the laboring class. He attempted to introduce measures of reform, to correct the wrongs, to rid the Republican party of its evils; but he soon found that designing politicians were in control and were using the party organization to feather the nests of the few to the neglect and detriment of the many.

On discovering this deplorable condition he joined the Greenback party; and later the People's party and the Farmers' Alliance, both of which he helped to organize. He was also active as a writer for many publications, among which was The Non-Conformist of Kansas; of this he became editor-in-chief in 1889, just before the removal of the paper to Indianapolis, Ind. In the Indiana city he continued his labors until 1891, when he severed his connection with the Non-Conformist, and started for himself the Cincinnati Herald, a Populist paper. This latest venture was not a financial success, and in 1893 the Herald was discontinued.

But no misfortune could abate his zeal for the people's cause. For a time he engaged in the work of lecturing and organizing for the Populists of Kansas; a little later he moved to California, and there edited a Populist paper called the Frisco Spectator. Still later he edited a Populist paper in San Jose, Cal.—until the election of 1896, when the Populist party fused with the Democrats. This fusion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Wilkins, and when defeated he became a "Middle-of-the-Roader." But very soon he affiliated himself with the Socialist party, for which he worked earnestly both with tongue and with pen. In 1903 he took the field for active work as National Organizer, in which vocation he worked early and late, through heat and cold, with that unflagging zeal and energy so characteristic of the man—until 1908, when his last illness compelled him to quit the field.

Comrade Wilkins, like all revolutionists and agitators, traveled the rugged and thorny path that is ever strewn with obstacles of opposition, privation and self-sacrifice.

To-day, as we mourn the taking away of our comrade who served his country so well, we stand with uncovered heads to pay our last tribute of respect and reverence to his memory; extending, as best we can, our heartfelt sympathy to his bereaved family. May the thought that the husband and father labored for his country's good and died in a righteous cause, and that through his devoted service the world was made better—may this thought, this knowledge, reconcile the bereaved ones to their loss; and may they live to see the fruits of his labor ripen into the full harvest of that peace, joy and justice that can come only with

the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the industrial brotherhood of man. Very respectfully and fraternally yours, W. H. McFral, 30 Central street, Concord, N. H.

GET BUSY. Since there are so many people reading Socialist papers and magazines, it fills us with encouragement, knowing, of course, they are seeking knowledge, simply because the system is driving them to it. They can't get what they are looking for in the Capitalist literature, therefore, it's the duty of every Socialist to contribute his mite, so that the wheels of progress may not be clogged by indifference and lethargy.

It is up to Socialists to be doing something all the time, as the cause is greater than all we can ever contribute. Its growth and strength depends upon our doing things, not in dreaming for the evolutionary utopia, by believing that what is, is. And what is to be, must be. Rather must we get busy and help make things what we want them to be. That is the mission of Socialism, if it is anything. Further, we should not merely seek votes, as they would be of no value without an educated organization. Of all things most needed is an intelligent organization of the workers, conscious of its power, recognizing the class-struggle, yet we hear so many say they are Socialists, who are workmen, not connected with the organization. They are about as valuable to the movement as a pig's squeal is to the meat trust. Then, again we must do more for the children. That is, in the home, as well as in the shop, mill and factory for the reason that we know the child's mind is dwarfed in the home by its parents by having instilled in its head the miserable creeds, dogmas and beliefs of capitalist society, filling them with fear and superstition, and making them more subjective than they otherwise would be. The children are up against it much more than we are.

We take advantage because we know we are bigger and stronger. If there was a doubt, the children would be spared many of the abuses they must otherwise suffer. Fathers and mothers, don't abuse your own flesh and blood. You brought them into the world. They are not responsible for your misery and troubles. They did not create conditions. They may have added to your burdens, but they are not to blame. They don't

control your job. It's the private ownership of the means of life that enslaves you and your little ones and fills the worker's homes with misery throughout all the lands. Therefore, why don't you wake up to the cause of all your troubles. Instead of venting your spleen on your wife and children, turn it on the system and the parasite class which is living in luxury off your labor and degrading you and your family by robbing you of the fruit of your toil by owning your job. You and your wife must protect the children. It's your duty. You must not hate, but love them. All your hate must be used in your class-interest, the workers versus the master-class of idlers and retainers. Do your duty. Don't try to fight the battle yourself, but join the great world-wide Socialist movement which is in the field in the sole interest of the working-class and whose aim and object is the abolition of the capitalist system and the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth through the collective or common ownership of the means necessary to the life of society. Thereby it guarantees to all the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

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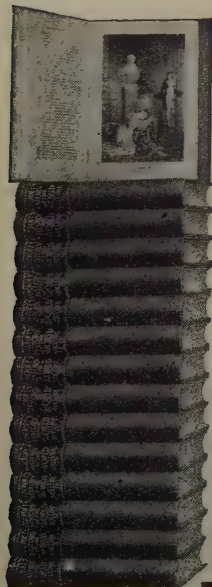
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Our Record for January. As usual we give our readers an accurate report of our receipts and expenditures for the last full month before going to press. Note that the receipts of the **Review** for December and January are larger than for the entire year 1907. Let us all work together and we can double the circulation again this year. Here are the figures:

Receipts.	Expenditures.
Cash balance, January 1.....\$ 184.59	Manufacture of books.....\$ 545.27
Book sales 1,970.28	Books purchased 23.79
Review subscriptions and sales. 1,304.22	Printing January Review..... 623.53
Review advertising 115.50	Review articles, drawings, etc.. 13.50
Sales of stock 96.59	Wages of office clerks..... 318.00
Loans from stockholders..... 295.00	Mary E. Marey, on salary..... 60.00
Donations: H. R. Kearns..... 1.00	Charles H. Kerr, on salary..... 125.00
Warren Atkinson 5.00	Postage and expressage..... 403.43
	Interest 18.20
	Rent 70.00
	Miscellaneous expenses 76.40
	Advertising 743.61
	Copyrights 45.00
	Loans repaid 548.38
	Cash balance, January 31..... 358.07
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SOME OF OUR NEW BOOKS

The following are only a part of the new books and new editions published by us during the last few months. They are all substantially bound in cloth, and the list prices are in nearly every case lower than the prices charged by capitalist publishers for similar books:

Capital. Vol. I. The Process of Capitalist Production. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 869 pages, \$2.00.

Capital. Vol. II. The Process of Circulation of Capital. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 618 pages, \$2.00.

Capital. Vol. III. The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 1,048 pages, \$2.00.

(These volumes by Marx, the greatest of Socialist writers, are simply indispensable to any revolutionist who wants to have a clear idea of the capitalist system which he has to fight. Volume III, which has only been within reach of American readers a short time, is the

most interesting as well as the largest of the three, but it can not be thoroughly understood without reference to the previous volumes.)

History of the Great American Fortunes. By Gustavus Myers. Cloth, illustrated, three volumes, \$4.50. Volume I, dealing with the Colonial Period and the Great Land Fortunes, was published a few weeks ago and the first edition is nearly exhausted. Volume II, telling of the beginnings of the Great Railroad Fortunes, is just ready. Volume III, completing Mr. Myers' account of the Great Railroad Fortunes, will be published in April. The entire work is full of the best sort of ammunition for Socialist agitators.

The Ancient Lowly: A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity, by Constantine. Cloth, two volumes, 689 and 716 pages, \$4.00. These volumes constitute the only authentic history of the working people of ancient times, and demonstrate that Christianity was originally an organization of, by and for the laborers. Every statement in this remarkable book is backed up by the fullest proofs.

Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization. By Lewis H. Morgan. Cloth, 586 pages, \$1.50. This is the greatest scientific work ever written by an American, and it proves beyond question that men lived as equals without masters or slaves, lords or serfs, capitalists or wage-workers, for untold thousands of years before the age of slavery began. We have just published a new edition, on better paper than was formerly used.

The Rise of the American Proletarian, by Austin Lewis, is nothing less than a concise industrial history of the United States, showing how the wage-workers are more and more coming to be the essential class, and that the final struggle which will make them the ruling class is not far off. Cloth, 213 pages, \$1.00.

The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx, the first American edition of which is just ready, is a crushing reply to the philosophers who believe that poverty can be cured by currency and banking reforms, schemes of voluntary co-operation and the like. Full of weapons for the revolutionist. Cloth, 220 pages, \$1.00.

Socialism for Students, by Joseph E. Cohen, is a complete study course, easy enough for beginners, thorough enough for those who wish to make themselves efficient speakers and writers. Cloth, 153 pages, 50 cents.

The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue, is a clear, readable, forcible history of the methods of production from the dawn of writ-

ten history to the present day, written from the point of view of the wage-worker. Until recently this book has been sold only in an imported edition at \$1.00; the first American edition is just ready. Cloth, 160 pages, 50 cents.

The Evolution of Man, by Wilhelm Boelsche, is an illustrated book giving the best popular explanation of Darwin's theory to be had in the English language, together with the proofs which were lacking when Darwin first published his "Descent of Man," but have since been discovered. Eighth thousand just ready. Cloth, 160 pages, 50

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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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